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DURING the past week a few optimists have been timidly conjuring up the vision of an approaching peace. The vision is vague, and born rather of the wish than of authentic evidence, but it is palpable, it is sustained by a few encouraging intimations from Paris and Berlin, and it is the expression of a sound instinctive judgment on the present course of what may be called the curve of the war. After having risen until last summer and maintained a level throughout the fall and winter, the curve is now perceptibly receding. There comes a moment during every period of abundant business at which the cool observer, although the volume of trade may still be increasing, realizes that the increase has become too costly. So one feels at the present that the impulse to fight has spent the better part of its force and is about to meet with increasingly formidable obstacles of opposition and inertia. While the belligerents may continue actually to fight during the spring and early summer with undiminished fury and while the curve of war seems likely to recede slowly, at least during the near future, the recession has without doubt begun, and having begun it may possibly fall away with unexpected celerity. Europe is beginning to drink the dregs of its great war. It is beginning to realize that the cup contains nothing more but bitterness, frustration and destitution, and that at the bottom lies utter social enervation.

IN the case of Germany the government is almost certainly adjusting its policy to the expectation of a not very remote and an inconclusive peace. The recent statement of the German Imperial Treasurer, Dr. Helfferich, confessed by implication to the abandonment of all idea of an indemnity. A scheme of fresh taxation is being prepared, sufficient perhaps to pay the interest on the war debt. The Imperial government will derive a plain advantage from presenting at least part of the bill for the war to the German people during the progress of the war itself, when resistance can be more easily overcome, but German public opinion must understand the full meaning of the decision. They are being asked to pay for their part of the war only because their government has ceased to anticipate a decisive victory. They must be content with what they can get, which may be less than nothing. The resignation of von Tirpitz is even more significant and encouraging. It means the triumph in the counsels of the government of the party which is willing to take into consideration the public opinion of Europe now and after the war is over, and seeks to avoid the odium which would attach to the German nation as the consequence of an unrestricted submarine campaign against the commerce of the Allies. In all probability this moderate party would not have triumphed if the submarine had proved to be or promised to be sufficiently successful as a commerce destroyer to endanger the marine communications and commerce of the Allies. But apparently the Kaiser and the Chancellor reached the conclusion that an unrestricted submarine campaign would bring in the neutrals against Germany and involve a general and enduring reprobation of her course without contributing decisively to ultimate victory.

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In any event the important fact is the conclusion. Everything indicates that the responsible leaders of Germany are now calculating and contriving how best to get out of the war with the greatest gain or even the smallest loss.

FURTHER encouragement may be derived from the recent statement of the French Finance Minister, M. Ribot. He predicted with a show of great feeling and sincerity that Frenchmen could "now see the end of this horrible war." Just how much he meant is a matter of guessing, and one guess is as good as another. The prediction may have been born of many different kinds of good news. It may have resulted from the assurance that Turkish resistance would collapse, that Rumania and consequently Greece would enter the war, that Germany had actually offered unexpectedly favorable terms, or merely that the fighting at Verdun had dispelled all fears of a successful German offensive in the west. But whatever the facts underlying the prediction and however much or little it meant, its form was significantly different from other similar utterances of French statesmen. M. Ribot talked not of a crushing victory over Germany but of an assured peace for France. One may hope that France is tending towards a state of mind in which an honorable peace without further sacrifices may seem of greater value than a more considerable victory purchased by another year or two of war.

THE most encouraging intimation, however, of the German desire for peace is afforded by the reported submission of an actual suggestion of possible mediation by the German government to the American Ambassador in Berlin. At present one can only guess whether this conjectural overture is intended to attract for Germany the sympathy of neutral opinion or is prompted by some expectation of coöperation from the Allies in reaching an agreement as to terms. The report that an approach had been made to Mr. Gerard by the German Chancellor, which was first published in the New York *Evening Post,* did not enter into details about the proposed German terms of peace beyond the fact that Germany would withdraw from Belgium and assist in the rehabilitation of that country, and was willing to give up the conquered territory in northern France. In both cases she wanted compensation either in territory or money, but she cannot really expect to get indemnities for this part of her spoils. Nothing was said or is stated to have been said, about the far more perplexing and thorny questions raised by any attempt to reach a settlement on the eastern front. The overture, consequently, offers no basis as yet for fruitful public discussion of the details of a possible treaty. One can only prayerfully hope that the Germans are so firmly convinced of the futility of further fighting that they are willing to make the sacrifices necessary to meet the justifiable demands of the Allies. As yet they have given no proof that they are prepared to do so; but, of course, it would be poor tactics on their part to indicate in advance how much they are reconciled to yielding. We must be content for the present with the hope that the initiative may be passing from those who demand war to those who demand peace.

INCREASING the army to 120,000 men proves not so simple a matter as Congress assumed. The early reports of long lines of men waiting to enlist were apparently misleading, and officers are beginning to talk of the necessity for more effective methods of exciting interest among potential recruits. It is proposed to substitute moving pictures of army scenes for the gorgeous posters hitherto in use and to introduce other approved publicity methods. But one may well question whether the young American who would make a desirable recruit is not already sufficiently familiar with the advantages and disadvantages of military service under present conditions. What seems to be needed is not more publicity, but more attractive terms of service. Raise the pay of private soldiers to such a point that it corresponds fairly with the rates in civil employments, limit the term of service to the minimum necessary to make a good soldier without committing the enlisted man to military service for too many years, and we shall have little difficulty in keeping the army at such strength as we require. Twenty millions added to soldiers' pay would be an unwelcome addition to our military budget, to be sure; but we could save much of this sum by cutting off various items—politically located army posts, for example—which add nothing to military efficiency.

THE most that can be said for the Hay army bill is that it would leave our military forces somewhat less adequate than they now are. If we are ever to defend ourselves against a first class Power we shall need half a million men trained up to the standards of the regular army. With a peace footing of 200,000 men and appropriate arrangements for terms of service no longer than necessary and for reserve organization of time-expired men, we should have at hand this minimum half million. With a peace footing of only 140,000, as proposed by the House bill, we cannot possibly provide ourselves with the requisite number of men having regular army training. We shall be forced to depend in the future as in the past upon state troops, the extent of whose training will be determined by the

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conditions of non-professional service, not by the requirements of modern warfare. Granting that the so-called "federalization" of the state militia proves constitutional, it remains true that the national guard, if called suddenly to the field, will prove to be essentially raw troops, in no way fitted to cope with an invading force of trained soldiers. The House bill promises to increase our military expenditures very materially, while leaving us unprepared to defend ourselves in a serious emergency.

THE California Industrial Welfare Commission issued, on February 11th, an order fixing minimum time and piece rates for women and minors employed in the canning industry of the state. The schedule of rates fixed by the Commission had been recommended unanimously by a wage board on which employers and employees were equally represented. Of general interest are the principles of wage determination adopted by the board and more or less evident in its recommendations. What the board sought to do was to fix wages providing for a fair standard of living, while making due allowance for the competitive situation of the industry. Thus it proceeded with greater freedom in advancing rates for the canning of apricots and other fruit in which the state enjoys a virtual monopoly, than in advancing rates for the canning of tomatoes. The schedules agreed upon will have the effect of levelling up the worse-paying establishments. In 1915, 43 per cent of the apricot, 19 per cent of the peach, 36 per cent of the pear and 18 per cent of the tomato canneries paid rates less than the minima fixed by the order of the Commission. This result does not confirm the fears entertained by opponents of the minimum-wage principle, that in practise it would lead to revolutionary changes in the methods of determining wages. The wage board simply followed the practise of the better establishments, which have much to gain from the standardization of wages and nothing to lose. It is worth noting, also, that the representatives of the employees were able to point out means by which the earnings of the workers could be increased without cost to the employer.

A RECENT bulletin of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research publishes a few facts derived from the report of the Taft Economy and Efficiency Commission which afford an indication of the waste now prevailing in the federal administrative service. Take, for instance, the Adjutant General's office of the War Department. It is being run at an annual expense of $781,000, whereas in the opinion of the expert examiners the work could be more efficiently accomplished under a different system at an expense of not more than $480,000. The course taken in the same office by an average piece of correspondence required, as the result of bad organization and obsolete methods, forty operations in the mail and record division, in addition to thirty-nine operations in those divisions which would have to take administrative action in the case. As an indication of waste of valuable office space, it was found that seventy-six good office rooms in the State, War and Navy buildings were devoted to the storing of old and infrequently used records, while the employees engaged in current business had been scattered among six different buildings situated in different parts of the city. The average waste in all the administrative operations of the central government was estimated as not far from thirty per cent. These figures give some notion of the need for the recently organized Institute for Government Research and of the possible value to the nation of its future work.

THE voters of Iowa are to decide upon woman suffrage in June. Up to the present the campaign in that state has been conducted with extreme quietness. The suffragists are treading so softly that casual observers seem to have some doubt as to the very existence of a campaign. This policy has advantages. It saves Iowa suffragists from spending their powder on excited antis. It is compatible with inconspicuous yet most effective private canvassing. But the Iowa campaign is important not merely in Iowa. It is important to suffragists all over the country. Defeat in Iowa would be so discouraging everywhere that victory in Iowa is a national concern. For that reason there is no doubt whatever that outsiders throughout the country should get into the campaign, under the direction of the national and state organizations. The fact that Mrs. Catt is to devote herself to the campaign later on is not sufficient. It would be culpable to have suffrage defeated in Iowa because the suffragists inside and outside the state fail to give it the significance it deserves.

NOT by limelight alone can an issue be made to live. The public is intensely susceptible to advertising and advertising is the proper name for limelight, but there is an eventual natural reaction to advertisements factitiously secured. This is one great problem of woman suffrage. To advertise it is essential, but the issue is itself so little mercenary or selfish or melodramatic that it is hard to keep it in the public eye. The behavior of the New York State Senate judiciary committee, however, is just the sort of thing that does keep the issue alive in honest minds. The manner in which that committee flouted the New York suffragists,

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though finally reporting out their new amendment, is exactly the manner that fortifies suffragist claims. Men are not men who act contemptuously on a just issue when they think they are above punishment. They are cowards and bullies. It is this element in male behavior that drives women into militancy. But the right persons to punish politicians who flout suffragists are the male voters who entrust these men with power. It is only because the male voter does not exercise his full influence in this regard that the senate committee was insolent.

THE Fabian socialists have long been asserting that the unequal distribution of wealth exerts its most maleficent effects through the diversion of productive energy from the satisfaction of the vital needs of the many to the provision of trifling superfluities for the few. If the rich were democratic in their consumption the inequality in distribution would matter little: excessive income could only be reinvested, to serve the masses. The British government, it would appear, is becoming a convert to this item in the socialistic creed. By prohibiting the importation of luxuries it is saving cargo space for necessaries, and at the same time, it is closing one avenue for the conspicuous waste of large incomes. Home production of luxuries is already curtailed by the drafting away of men for whose products there is no pressing need. The large private income may persist, but during the war more and more of it will have to be diverted to investment in the national debt, for sheer want of the accustomed objects of expenditure. And after the war, with the world in need of every shilling for purposes of reconstruction, public and social sumptuary control is likely to persist.

THE appointment of Dr. William B. Cornell as medical director of the city's institutions for defective children on Randall's Island and the initial appropriation of $600,000 mark the first constructive steps in New York City's movement for mental hygiene. Dr. Cornell, whose work as secretary of the Maryland Society for Mental Hygiene speaks for his fitness, faces a twofold task. His first effort will go towards hastening the construction of an adequate physical plant to supersede the archaic and grossly insanitary buildings which have helped to make Randall's Island a byword. This includes the building of hospitals, schools and especially the careful planning of the dormitories. The other step will be the reorganization of the medical staff and the administrative offices, the introduction of a more flexible method of examination and the keeping of better statistical records. Greater facilities for observation and probationary periods for the more intelligent redistribution of the feeble-minded to permanent farm and industrial colonies in various parts of the state will make Randall's Island the great clearing house for mental defectives at the very place where it is most needed. But the most delicate task that confronts Dr. Cornell is to restore the average citizen's confidence in an institution that has come to be shunned like the proverbial almshouse. We have not yet reached the stage of coercive elimination of the unfit and must rely upon the intelligent parent to bring his defective child to a place where the best that is humanly possible will be done for it.

IN the tentative report to the New York City Board of Estimate by the Commission of Building Districts and Restrictions, there is outlined the most important enterprise yet undertaken by any American city for the control and direction of building development and town-planning. The plans provide for the restriction of residential, business and industrial districts, and for the limitation of the heights of buildings and the area of the lot to be covered. The work of the Commission is a notable example of timely intelligence applied to the mastering of a chaotic spread of industry which was already beginning to devastate some of the choicest residential and business districts of the city. If these plans are adopted, not only will this demoralization be halted but other districts will be saved the waste and menace to health and prosperity which have resulted from the lack of regulation.

THAT the plans are likely to be adopted is assured by the support of the real estate interests. This probability is further increased by the recent dramatic action of the large department stores and retail dry-goods houses in the Fifth Avenue district, which is menaced by the invasion of industrial lofts. The manifesto presents a novel form of private coercion in the interests of city-planning. In the agreement of these firms to give preference in their purchase of goods to those manufacturers whose lofts are located outside of the zone, they institute a mild form of economic boycott or preferential tariff. Such a league to enforce city-planning is as significant as it is unprecedented. It is a rare example of private initiative demanding, and coöperating with, social compulsion. It means a public recognition that the desire to "save New York" can be met only by a thoroughgoing city plan. Such a public sentiment, which realizes that city-planning is the social synthesis in which private as well as public interests are conserved to their maximum, is of educational significance to the whole country. In this instance individualism has learned that it can only reach freedom by coöperating towards a social end.

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Health Insurance

COMPULSORY insurance of the worker against the mischances of sickness is the reform now in the order of the day. The institution is already established in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Luxemburg, Norway, Holland, Great Britain, Russia, Rumania, Serbia, Greece. When a social reform has won success in Russia and the Balkan States, one may suppose that it is about to receive a hearing in the United States of America. And now three of our chief industrial states, New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey, are discussing sickness insurance bills, under the more optimistic name, "health insurance." These bills spring largely from a common source and are almost identical in terms. If they pass, the manual worker, or any other employee with salary under $1200 a year, will be assured medical and surgical attendance and nursing through a period of sickness extending to six months; medical and surgical supplies up to a cost of $50, and money benefits equivalent to two-thirds of his wages for a period not longer than six months. In return for his advantages under the law, he will be forced to contribute, in the ratio of his earnings, towards two-fifths of the aggregate cost of insurance. His employer will contribute another two-fifths, and the remaining fifth will come out of the state budget.

It is a complicated project, so it is urged, destined to tax rather seriously the administrative capacities of the state. It is a burdensome project which will make the cost of production greater in the states that adopt it. It is un-American. Such are the chief objections that are being raised against the proposed laws. As for the first, the German Empire manages to administer a somewhat more complicated system insuring over 14,000,000 employees. Great Britain is successfully administering a system insuring a number of employees only a trifle less great. We are surely capable of handling our comparatively simple problem. As for the second objection, unless we are a decidedly more unhealthy people than the German or the British, the cost to the employer will not exceed two per cent of the wages bill. The industries of a state are hardly placed in jeopardy by a two per cent advance in wages, even if there is no return in efficiency. But anything that tends to improve the health of the working population is certain to advance the interest of the employer in some measure. Not improbably the employers' contribution to the health insurance funds will in the long run prove an excellent investment.

Let us fall back, then, on the objection that health insurance is un-American. It is un-American in the sense that it is new to America, as it was new to Great Britain four years ago and to all the world thirty-two years ago. It is a natural outcome of modern industrialism, which is very much the same the world over, producing everywhere the same kind of industrial population, without land to maintain or roof to shelter them, with slender reserves for a rainy day, with the mutual-aid groupings of the earlier order shattered, and with health often weakened by urban life and factory strain. In America as in the older countries there are hundreds of thousands of workers to whom a week's illness is a serious embarrassment, a month's illness a calamity. One third of the applicants for charity in New York State are driven to seek aid by sickness. Experts estimate the annual loss to our workers from sickness at three-quarters of a billion a year. Almost a war budget, it would seem, and thrown upon a class that finds it none too easy to make ends meet. But what makes the matter more serious, the burden is unevenly, perversely distributed. It falls more heavily upon women workers than upon men, more heavily upon the low-paid than upon the highly paid classes. To redistribute this burden so that the stronger will take their share seems not inherently un-American.

But redistribution of burdens is not the only object of sickness insurance. We have vastly more sickness than is necessary. Think of the thousands of men in our industry at the early stages of tuberculosis, of the other thousands just beginning to develop other organic lesions. They shrink from consulting physicians; instead, they rack themselves to pieces at their work, largely because they can not afford to be ill. There is no need to dwell upon the enormous increase in volume of sickness resulting from initial neglect. It has been estimated that prompt medical attention would save our working class one-third of their days of illness—say, one quarter of a billion dollars. It is hardly un-American to seek to check so huge a waste.

Health insurance in Germany has been the most powerful force making for the elimination of tuberculosis. Collective pressure is brought to bear upon the type of man, so familiar in every country, who goes about with the mark of disease upon him, yet fails to consult a physician, fearing the worst. The adoption of health insurance by Great Britain led to a national movement to control tuberculosis. According to Commons and Andrews, the British act brought to light a huge mass of suffering, especially among women workers, that had never received proper medical or surgical attention.

We have seen in our own country what indirect advantages may be had from similar legislation. As a result of the enactment of workingmen's compensation laws and the attendant agitation of the question of industrial accidents, our business men

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launched a great "safety first" campaign, which has already attained notable results and promises far greater results in the future. Health insurance will give the American business man a direct, pecuniary interest in combating tendencies toward disease in the general population. There is no more efficient organizer in the world than the American business man. If once it is proved to him that he is justified in turning his talents to the solution of problems of public health, we may expect very rapid progress toward the removal of conditions destructive of the stamina of the people. We are late in entering the field of health insurance, but there is reason to believe that in a generation we may be attaining results more significant than those that have been attained by any other nation.

The Nation's Water Power

ON March 7th, after a desultory and intermittent debate running through six weeks, the Senate passed the Shields bill on the development by private capital of the water power on navigable rivers. It is doubtful if at any other time a bill of this importance could have passed with so little public attention. Only a few Senators took part in the debate. The bill aims to turn over to private ownership without compensation to the public the one great natural source of power that still remains in the ownership of the United States. Evidently the Senate has profited nothing by the example of Germany. Germany has been strong in war because in times of peace she has developed her natural wealth for the benefit of the nation, not the enrichment of a handful of private citizens. To-day her water powers under direct government ownership or control are turning out the nitrates absolutely essential for the manufacture of explosives. Meanwhile the Senate is engaged in giving ours away.

The Shields bill on its face purports to grant a fifty-year lease to private companies to develop power sites. In effect the grant is in perpetuity, as some of its advocates admit on the floor of the Senate, for the terms of recapture are so onerous that it is unlikely that the government will ever exercise the right. Nearly every provision ostensibly in the public interest turns out on analysis to be either useless or a mere statement of existing rights. For instance, the bill provides for a regulation of rates either by the state commissions or the Secretary of War. The power to regulate corporations engaged in public service already exists both in the state and the federal government. The bill does attempt to protect navigation by compelling grantees to construct such locks, dams and other structures as the Secretary of War may deem necessary. Yet this is vicious in principle. The development of waterways for transportation purposes is a public function. To transfer any part of that function to private control and give in return the free use of water power is a total perversion of right principles. Wherever there is any interest of navigation to be served by the erection of dams, the government should build the dams itself and own any power developed in connection therewith.

That such a bill could pass the Senate is surprising, but not without explanation. The western Senators, with a few notable exceptions, are opposed to federal control of property located within their states. The conservatives still hold the old fashioned view that the only thing to do with public property is to turn it over to private interests. Perhaps the chief reason why the Shields bill received such strong support is the idea, carefully circulated by the water-power companies, that the public is suffering from lack of development, that enormous quantities of urgently needed power are running to waste, and that the existing laws are checking legitimate enterprise. A statement of the facts about developed and undeveloped power shows how unfounded is this claim and also shows that the real motive behind the Shields bill is private greed, not the public interest.

The total developed water power in the United States to-day is over seven million horse power. The ownership is not only private, but largely concentrated in a few hands. Ten great groups, closely related by interlocking interests, own sixty-five per cent of this developed power. The undeveloped water power is estimated variously from twenty-five million horse power to two hundred million. A conservative estimate would be fifty million. Private companies, the source of most of the cry that the government is preventing development, own or control more than three and one-half million horse power yet undeveloped. Over seventy per cent of the undeveloped power is located in the Rocky Mountains and Pacific states. It is especially this part of the country that is supposed to need more rapid development. The most recent and authoritative statement about water-power development is the report of the Secretary of Agriculture made January 17th last. That report shows that development in the western states has been more rapid in recent years than in any other part of the country. Prior to 1902 there were no restrictions on the acquisition of power sites on the public domain and in the national forests. Sites of great value were taken up under the homestead law for $1.25 per acre. Since that time permits have been issued only under strict federal regulation. Yet in the decade from 1902 to 1912 water-power development in the western states increased 450 per cent, while the average for

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the whole United States was 98 per cent. Since 1912 water-power development in the western states increased fifty per cent. The official report states that there " is at the present time considerably more development in nearly all the power centers of the western states. California, Oregon and Washington in particular now have installation far in excess of maximum demands. While there are doubtless many remote sections where small power could be used if it could be supplied at reasonable expense, the western states in general have more power at the present time than they are able to dispose of, and the real demand is for more markets rather than more power." This development has taken place largely on public lands.

The Shields bill deals only with powers on navigable streams, but practically all streams of any importance are either navigable in fact or can be navigated, and in all probability the bill will be held to apply to most of the power sites remaining on the public domain and in the national forests. The law governing construction of dams on navigable rivers undoubtedly needs revision. Until 1906 the federal government exercised practically no control over the construction of such dams. They were developed under state laws. In 1906 a general dam act was passed providing the conditions under which dams might be constructed. This act was amended in 1910. Thirty-nine enabling acts have been passed by Congress under these two statutes of which only eight have been actually developed. Undoubtedly the present law has prevented the development of some important powers. It is perfectly clear that these powers could be developed under a law which provides for compensation to the government and strict regulation in the public interest.

Fortunately the House of Representatives has already given an indication that the Shields bill in its present shape will not be accepted. Early in the session it passed the Ferris bill dealing with water powers on the public domain. This bill contains practically all that the conservationists have fought for, and is radically different from the Senate measure. The large vote by which the Shields bill passed the Senate, 46 to 22, and the further fact that every amendment offered to make that bill conform to the principles of the Ferris bill was voted down by an equally large majority, clearly indicates that no proper bill can be passed through the Senate. The chances are that a deadlock will result and that no legislation on this subject will be enacted by this Congress. Such a conclusion would be a defeat for the private water-power companies, not for the conservationists. For some reasons such a result is, after all, desirable. The public can get along very well for a time without any new legislation. While the Ferris bill is a good bill and properly protects the public interest, at best it is only piecemeal legislation. All the water power in which the federal government has any interest should be dealt with in one bill and be under one central administrative board. Moreover, water-power development is only one phase of the public interest in waterways. There are also irrigation and navigation. All of these three public uses are closely related. It is time for a reconstruction of our national policy on all three. In an early issue we will show what has been done heretofore in navigation and irrigation and will outline a comprehensive, practical plan for a systematic development of our national waterways for the best interests of the public.

The Case Against Brandeis

THE Brandeis hearings are closed, and all that any supporter of Mr. Brandeis would ask is that people might read the testimony. His opponents have had every conceivable opportunity to present every bit of evidence, rumor and suspicion that could be found to throw an unfavorable light upon him. They have been able to draw upon great legal ability to formulate this case. In the nature of things they have had the assistance of the newspaper headlines, for a " charge " is " news " and a refutation is dull. They have had all the tactical advantage of the offensive. The advocates of Mr. Brandeis have not done what they might so easily have done, started a counter-attack upon Mr. Brandeis's enemies. They have not tried to develop their case in a sensational way. Had they felt less sure of themselves, they could, for example, have put President Lowell, Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, on the stand and cross-examined them mercilessly to show that no one of these gentlemen has any exact knowledge on which to base his suspicions. They have not done this because those who followed the testimony knew that the case against Mr. Brandeis had collapsed by its own weight.

The final decision is with the Senate, but since a number of newspapers in the East have already summed up against Mr. Brandeis, it is perhaps not amiss to emphasize some of the crucial points in the case. What might be called the theme, the *leit-motif* of the charges, is that Mr. Brandeis has frequently been guilty of double-dealing. He is supposed to be a man who is at once violently partisan for his client, and yet disloyal to him. He is supposed to be without the " judicial temperament," and at the same time inclined to be on both sides of a case. Those who attacked him seemed unable to agree on whether he is a ruthless partisan, or a man who is not partisan enough. But they concen-

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trated finally on the belief that he is not the absolute partisan of his client.

Their favorite example is, of course, the Shoe Machinery case. We shall not here analyze the facts all over again. They were published at some length in the issue of March 4th, and no one has questioned them. Certain misconceptions, however, cannot be smashed too often. Thus, Mr. Brandeis did not draw the objectionable clauses in the leases. They existed before he was associated with the corporation. When he appeared in 1906 before the Massachusetts legislature to argue against prohibitory legislation, he did so by agreement with the Shoe Machinery Company and shoe manufacturers, and with the understanding that there would be a voluntary change in the leases. As early as 1906 he was counsel for a large number of shoe manufacturers, and no one thought there was anything improper in the relationship. He was still on good terms with the United Shoe Machinery Company. When the company failed to live up to its agreement that it would change the leases, Mr. Brandeis resigned. Four years later, when Mr. Brandeis advised a group of shoe manufacturers he did so without pay—in fact he contributed $2500 out of his own pocket—and he used no confidential information. This last point was admitted by Mr. Sidney Winslow, the President of the United Shoe Machinery Company.

Next in importance is the Lennox case. Late in 1907 the firm of P. Lennox and Company was in difficulties with its creditors. James Lennox, son of Patrick, one of his creditors, and his counsel called on Mr. Brandeis for assistance. He advised an assignment for the benefit of the creditors, and urged Mr. Lennox to talk it over with his father. Mr. Brandeis then agreed to act as trustee for the creditors under an assignment to liquidate the assets. All agreed. The assignment was made to Mr. Nutter, who is Mr. Brandeis's partner. These were the terms on which the firm was employed, a matter proved by the fact that the compensation received was paid not by any individual but out of the trust assets. The amount was approved by the court of bankruptcy. But Mr. Patrick Lennox failed to turn over his individual property, which was covered by the assignment. Mr. James Lennox refused to assist the trustee in the business unless he received $500 a week, which Mr. Brandeis's firm regarded as excessive. Mr. Nutter then advised Mr. Lennox to hire separate counsel. About six weeks after the assignment, the claim was first made that Mr. Patrick Lennox was not a partner in P. Lennox and Co., that the firm was not insolvent, and that the assignment had been fraudulently secured. The Lennoxes were welching. The creditors demanded their claims, and insisted that under the circumstances bankruptcy proceedings should be instituted. Mr. Nutter informed the counsel for Mr. Patrick Lennox and wrote to his son James. James did not object. Patrick's counsel said he would contest. Bankruptcy proceedings were started, and Mr. Brandeis's firm appeared for some of the creditors. They were fought by Mr. Patrick Lennox. The verdict was pronounced by a jury. Mr. Nutter and two others were appointed trustees in bankruptcy and administered the trust until a settlement was reached. Mr. Brandeis's firm, therefore, was entirely consistent. It was at all times the representative not of an individual but of the trust. It was the Lennoxes who tried to violate the trust they had created.

Then there is the charge that Mr. Brandeis was employed by *Collier's Weekly* to defend Mr. Glavis in the Ballinger case. That is true, and no one has ever denied it. Mr. Glavis was a poor man. Why *Collier's Weekly*, which had published his article, shouldn't furnish counsel for him, may be left to the metaphysician of honor.

There is the charge of Mr. Clifford Thorne that Mr. Brandeis "threw" the Advance Rate case. Mr. Thorne suffered under the delusion that Mr. Brandeis was counsel for the shippers, whereas the fact is that he was counsel for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

There is the Warren will case, which may be left with the admission of Mr. Moorfield Storey that he would have acted exactly as Mr. Brandeis did.

There is the charge that Mr. Brandeis was responsible for the destruction of the finances of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. The fact is that he predicted the destruction when there was still time to avoid it. He was disregarded, and his prophecy was fulfilled. To say he ruined the road is like saying that a physician who warns a man against drink is responsible for him if he becomes a drunkard.

But why is it that so many eminent Bostonians are convinced that Mr. Brandeis's character is tainted with a tendency to betrayal? One witness put his finger on the truth when he said, "We have what I may call an aristocracy of the Boston Bar; I do not use the word at all offensively; on the contrary they are high-minded, able, distinguished men. But they cannot, I think, consider with equanimity the selection of anybody for a position on the great court of the country from that community who is not a typical, hereditary, Bostonian." The sense of betrayal is not based on evidence of particular betrayals. He has attacked the United Shoe Machinery Company and the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad—the twin pillars of the Boston community. This is the origin of that sense of betrayal, which these gentlemen have tried so

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hard to reduce to evidence. He has outraged a group loyalty. That is why he is accused of double-dealing and violent partisanship—the double-dealing was in his unwillingness to abide by the freemasonry of the Boston purple; the partisanship was in the effectiveness of his attack.

Mr. Roosevelt's Afterthought

BIOGRAPHERS of Mr. Roosevelt will puzzle their heads about the month of October, 1914. Something happened to him in the short space of four or five weeks which had the effect of a religious conversion. He made an absolutely complete reversal of opinion on the question of America's duty to Belgium. It was not an ordinary case of a man's changing his mind, because it was accompanied by complete forgetfulness of his earlier views. Between the *Outlook* article of September 23rd, 1914 (resurrected recently by *Harper's Weekly*), and the *Times* article of November 8th, 1914, the conversion took place.

Thus in *The Outlook* he wrote:

> We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her [i. e. Belgium].

In "Fear God and Take Your Own Part" he writes:

> When Germany thus broke her promises—we broke our promise by failing at once to call her to account.

In *The Outlook:*

> . . . sympathy is compatible with full acknowledgment of the unwisdom of our uttering a single word of official protest unless we are prepared to make that protest effective; and only the clearest and most urgent national duty would ever justify us in deviating from our rule of neutrality and non-interference.

In "Fear God and Take Your Own Part":

> The treaty [i. e. Hague Conventions] was a joint and several guarantee, and it was the duty of every signer to take action when it was violated; above all it was the duty of the most powerful neutral, the United States.

In *The Outlook:*

> I think, at any rate I hope, I have rendered it plain that I am not now criticising, that I am not passing judgment one way or the other upon Germany's action [in Belgium].

In "Fear God and Take Your Own Part":

> We have also refused to say one word against international wrongdoing of the most dreadful character. . . . Our plain duty was to stand against wrong, to help in stamping out the wrong, to help in protecting the innocent who had been wronged. This duty we have ignobly shirked.

In *The Outlook:*

> A deputation of Belgians has arrived in this country to invoke our assistance in the time of their dreadful need. What action our government can or will take I know not. It has been announced that no action can be taken which will interfere with our entire neutrality. It is certainly eminently desirable that we should remain entirely neutral, and nothing but urgent need would warrant breaking our neutrality and taking sides one way or the other.

THE NEW REPUBLIC has supported Colonel Roosevelt from the first in his insistence that America should have protested against the violation of Belgium. Until *Harper's Weekly* called the *Outlook* article to our attention, we did not know of this violent and sudden reversal. So if at any time we have used the Belgian issue to point a moral against Mr. Wilson and for Mr. Roosevelt, we can only say now that we deeply regret the injustice. If this nation "ignobly shirked" its "duty" we are all guilty—Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Root, Mr. Wilson, and everyone else who at the time the invasion took place thought America's first duty was non-interference.

But what of the Belgian issue itself? In a Utopia we can imagine Colonel Roosevelt issuing the following statement:

> I was converted in the month of October, 1914. I was so dazzled by the new vision which came to me that I forgot all I had said and felt a few weeks before. I had the new convert's contempt for the unconverted, and I have been deeply unfair to Mr. Wilson. But I still feel that the United States owes a duty to Belgium, and I hereby pledge myself to advocate America's guarantee of the integrity of Belgium after this war. We have all failed in the past; we can make certain now that we shall not in the future fail in the same way.

Is there enough candor and courage in American politics for such an utterance?

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EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY
PHILIP LITTELL
WALTER E. WEYL
WALTER LIPPMANN
FRANCIS HACKETT
CHARLOTTE RUDYARD
ALVIN S. JOHNSON

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The Free Man and the Soldier

WHEN General Miles on a recent occasion expressed himself as opposed to universal military service, he was quoted as saying that the American people would never allow themselves to be "Prussianized." It is customary to say that if a people is to be trained to arms they must become spiritually or fundamentally "regimented." This dictum has usually passed unchallenged. It is regarded as a sort of axiom, which even the extremest advocates of preparedness are rarely bold enough to deny. And yet, curiously enough, even the superficial facts are against it. Thus, whatever we mean by that individualism which we prize, we do not look to China for examples of it. China, whether justly or unjustly, signifies to occidental minds that very uniformity and stagnation which points the moral; and yet China is notable among the nations for its lack of military discipline. France, on the other hand, was for centuries the most soldierly nation of Europe, and has in recent years made the most exacting military demands upon her citizens. Yet France remains preëminently liberal and cosmopolitan. France is a perpetual source of novelty, of modernisms and futurisms, of those departures from tradition and type, those excesses and daring conceits which scandalize and inspire, and which spring from a free mind roaming at large in its world.

What shall we say of ourselves? We have been let alone for half a century. No drill-master has taught us to keep alignments and intervals or to step a regulation thirty inches. No bugle-call has intruded upon our private affairs and summoned us to march the same road. We have not been swept by collective passion or articulated in any smooth-working mechanism. But what have we been doing? Have we become individuals? Are we notable among the nations as a race of ample personalities? Are our laboring men notable for self-respect and self-sufficiency? Does our leisured class breed creative genius, or our political life leadership and constructive statesmanship? What, then, is this individualism which we are so afraid to lose? Let us be willing to say of ourselves what we would not unnaturally resent if it were uttered by an alien critic. We are a bit sodden, a bit too fond of what money will buy. We are not guiltless of hiring an army in order to enjoy our Carthaginian ease. We enjoy irresponsibility as the child enjoys it. Some few, having a day full of "engagements" and pastimes, would like to be left uninterrupted. The great majority are solaced by the hope of rising in life to the same privilege or are embittered by their exclusion from it. The absence of discipline has not, then, perfected us as individuals, though it may have tolerated our selfishness and spread wide the envious hope of making a fortune. Indeed, the absence of a more conscious and rational collectivism has rendered us peculiarly defenseless against factional solidarities, against vogues and fads, against contagious sentimentalities and unscrupulous demagoguery. We are notoriously afraid of the mass opinion that we help to create. We have the greatest respect for the normal, and are quick to catch and echo the popular note. There are so many ears to the ground that there is often nothing to hear except the confused noise created by so much listening.

When we turn to our political liberties, on the other hand, we can speak with greater confidence. Liberty of the press, trial by jury, freedom of speech, popular government, self-respecting civic autonomy, these are solid goods. These we justly believe to be spiritual achievements by which we would like history to know us. But these are collective achievements, founded in organization and secured by organization. We do not owe them to our laxity and incohesiveness, but to constitutions and to laws. They exist not by virtue of private self-assertion, but by virtue of a disciplined regard for the rights of others. We owe them to that tradition and experience which impels us with loyal accord to support a system that defines our mutual relations and establishes our collective life.

If we cannot point to ourselves as bright examples of the blessings of undisciplined freedom, there remains, perhaps, the example of England, or the contrast of England and Germany. The war has already proved the necessity, for specifically military purposes, of national organization and universal service. If the Allies win the war it will be because having tardily acquired these virtues they enjoy certain residual advantages as well. But while this is granted, it will be said that England has owed her superior individualism to her lack of just such military organization and discipline, and that Germany has sacrificed individualism in order to possess them. Now I am one of those who believe that England does possess an individualism which Germany lacks, and that this individualism is a mark of superiority. Even this is not unqualifiedly true in view of the degree of snobbery and class antagonism which mars the democracy of England. But the fact remains that England is preëminently the home of men who

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know their rights and who sturdily insist upon them. Through combining independence with steadiness and practical sagacity, England has forged our constitutional liberties, has disseminated the spirit of tolerance and self-criticism, and has insisted upon owning and using her institutions instead of being enslaved or absorbed by them. In Germany, on the other hand, there is a certain political flabbiness, which tolerates authority too easily. Even art, science and religion, which ought to emancipate the individual, have become a means of confirming and sanctifying his submission.

If this be the case, it is nevertheless important to avoid confusing causes and effects, or assuming without reason that things which happen together are therefore causally and inseparably related. The Englishman's opposition to universal military service is undoubtedly associated in his own mind with the individualism he admires and claims as his own. But the opposition is not, I think, so much a logical defense of his individualism as a temperamental expression of it, a sort of psychological by-product. He would prefer to serve his country in war just as he would prefer to do anything else, as a matter of "sport," or from the motive of noblesse oblige, or out of fondness for tradition. He doesn't like anything that looks too orderly and prescribed, too freshly and deliberately made. He is fond of his crotchets, and regards reason as a sort of parvenu. Trollope wrote of one of his more doubtful characters: "He isn't of our sort. He's too clever, too cosmopolitan—a sort of man whitewashed of all prejudices, who wouldn't mind whether he ate horseflesh or beef if horseflesh were as good as beef, and never had an association in his life." Universal military training is too rational, too schematic, too exclusively mindful of the bare utilities and essentials. The Englishman shrinks from it as he shrinks from an adequate national system of education, or from the metric system, or from phonetic spelling. If it could only become a tradition like royalty and the top-hat, or an adventure like governing India and playing football, or a matter of instinct like the morning tub, he would cling to it until it had long since become obsolete. For the military virtues in themselves are unobjectionable. It is not the substance of the thing, but rather the deliberate act of adoption that is repugnant to English individualism. It is impossible to believe that once in vogue such a system would in the least abridge an Englishman's essential liberties or seriously alter the peculiar tone of his national life.

That it is the methodical rather than the compulsory element in a universal system of training and service which has stood in the way of its acceptance in England, appears in the readiness with which the pressure of public opinion is used as a means of coercion. The voluntary theory implies that men *shall* volunteer. It does not mean that men shall freely choose to serve or not to serve, according to taste or aptitude, but that they shall choose *service* according as national exigencies shall dictate. In practice this leads inevitably to the ugliest sort of coercion. Many men who nominally volunteer are as a matter of fact shamed into it. They are shamed into it at first by example. If that does not suffice they are called hard names, such as "slackers." Unorganized pressure gives place in time to organized pressure. Among those who are thus systematically persecuted are many who not unnaturally resent an interference with what they have been taught to believe is their just liberty of action. The remnant thus harried and cornered is eventually coerced by conscription; which when thus arrived at, as a measure of last resort, is unblushing tyranny. The whole process, in short, is one of first conferring rights and then outraging them by sheer force. Where, on the other hand, the state is legally entitled to the military service of its citizens, as it is entitled to some fraction of their property, military service is taken for granted. It is acknowledged as an obligation, and is sustained by the law-abiding habits of the community. It is accepted in the spirit of fair play, as part of that general order of life which a free man accepts as a contracting beneficiary.

Universal military service is otherwise opposed in England for economic reasons of a very different sort. The laboring man not unjustly feels that he is a creditor and not a debtor in his relations to the state. To him compulsory service savors of tyranny because it is imposed upon him by an authority that has neglected him. The tradition of *laissez-faire*, which has taught him that he must look out for himself, has not taught him to be grateful. In so far as the state absolves itself of responsibility it can impose no obligations. The moral of this difficulty is not that universal military service should therefore be rejected, but that the state should inspire and deserve the loyalty of its citizens through a just regard for their needs. Indeed, we are brought back to a much more fundamental and far-reaching question than any which concerns merely military exigencies alone. *Laissez-faire* fosters a complacent selfishness among the successful, an aggressive selfishness among the hopeful, an envious selfishness among those who are unsuccessful, and a bitter selfishness among those who are hopeless. If this be individualism, the less of it the better. Neither its spirit nor its fruits are to be numbered among the blessings of English civilization. And in so far as it operates as a cause of opposition to universal military service, it argues for rather than against such a system.

If England affords no evidence that the absence

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of universal military service is the cause of an individualism that is worthy and admirable, it will yet be argued that Germany illustrates the blighting effects of its adoption. That the military system of Germany forms a part of a dynastic, bureaucratic and cultural system which as a whole is prejudicial to the best individualism does not, I think, require proof. One does not look to Germany for a tolerant cosmopolitanism, or for a jealous insistence upon the great civil liberties. But this is not a direct and necessary consequence of its military mechanism. It is due to the purpose which directs that mechanism: to the spirit which dominates it, and the use which is made of it. The deeper causes are to be found in the Prussian traditions of conquest and dynastic right, in the Germanic philosophy of the state as absorbing and superseding its citizens, and perhaps in a racial propensity to domineer. These ideas find in the military system a harsh and effective mode of expression. But the army is the instrument and not the cause. A fraternal and chivalrous people like the French have created a fraternal and chivalrous army. An unaggressive and homeloving people like the Swiss have created a defensive army. A democratic and radical people like the Australians have adapted a national military system to their ideals of popular government and the dignity of labor.

Military preparedness in itself means nothing more than foresight and organization applied to the contingency of war. The alternative is blindness and confusion. War is an actuality and a genuine peril. It is, furthermore, a peril which threatens the *collective* life; there is no interest, however exalted, that is immune. Preparedness is therefore every man's concern. A national system of training and service is simply the responsible, concerted and effective way of meeting this peril. But the spirit which animates a military organization, on the other hand, will reflect the interests which men desire to safeguard. If we in America desire to be and remain free, if there is a peculiar tone of personal independence and equality that is the breath of life to us, then that is the end to which our military organization will be consecrated and that is the spirit which we shall carry with us into it. If we are to be free, we must be safely and effectively free. There must be a place secured for freedom; and to secure that freedom, free men may be soldiers.

A deliberate and rational concert of action does not hamper individuality. If there is any one incontrovertible principle that governs life, it is this: that freedom does not come of letting things take their course. Free individuals are not spontaneously generated by the bare removal of restrictions; they are the products of discipline and order. A freedom that knows no bounds is the conceit of impatient and careless minds. A military system that is imposed from without, or hastily improvised in a moment of panic, may indeed be tyrannical. But a system freely adopted, in order to do loyally and skillfully that which must be done, is primarily a matter of morale and character. Over and above that it will vary with the genius and aims of the people who create it and enter into it.

Since war is an actuality and a genuine peril, let us soberly undertake the burden it imposes. Let us cultivate the soldierly qualities; and let us equip ourselves with the tools which are effective in modern warfare. Let us acquire the capacity for organized action and be ready for the occasion which a rational man will both fear and deprecate. And let us be such soldiers as we would be men. If we are lovers of liberty and devotees of peace, let us inscribe these ideals on our banners.

RALPH BARTON PERRY.

Paul Manship

ONCE upon a time, when I was quite small, they took me to call upon a sea captain, who had brought his spoil home from many countries, and who opened boxes for us, so that the room was filled with a smell of sandal wood and Chinese stuffs. At the Manship exhibition in Mr. Birnbaum's galleries, not long ago, I had a like sense of foreign strangeness in abundance, of things brought from China and India and Persia and Greece. It is partly because Manship is so immediately recognizable as strange and foreign that he has found both so many people ready to welcome him at once with friendly excitement, and also a few other people, whose nervous haste to classify contemporary art troubles their enjoyment of it, ready to complain that he is not inspired by American life of to-day, that his art is imitative, that its future worries them. All that these worried persons need is to take a longer look through better eyes. Then they might see that what will happen to Manship is likely to be a repetition of what has happened since he came home from Italy, since he cut the cord that once tied him to the Naples museum. In his future, whatever else he may do there, he will certainly go on cutting cords.

Many things in this exhibition illustrate the original liberties he avoids imitativeness by taking, and also the differences between Manship as he used to be, and as he is to-day. From a figure with such a name as " Briseis " you would naturally expect something Greek, something composed on the S of the Praxitelean tradition, with its large curves never opposite each other. Such a use of the hips as Manship makes here, such a fullness of large curves

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beginning at the same height, is neither Greek nor meant to be. By choices like these, so significant when seen, originality finds one of its ways of becoming visible. In his later work, when compared with his earlier, the play of imagination is freer, there is a new fineness and dryness that might have been the gift of our American air. Nowhere is change more apparent than in the greater delicacy of poise. The later figures have actually a lighter touch on the earth.

In the "Dancer and Gazelles" we have a more surprising example of the degree to which Manship changes what he takes. Where in India or China did he find motives of drapery expressing such liveliness? Do you remember the curves in the Persian miniatures at the Metropolitan Museum? Those Persian curves are charming, they disappoint you a little, they are on the edge of being insipid, they are over the edge, they have a way of falling short that almost makes you sick. His young and spontaneous imagination knows how to give these curves force without taking away their charm.

A sculptor who stuck close to Greek models would not have dared to bring the ends of his curves so sharply together, nor would Manship himself, a few years ago, have made the lines of his drapery curve so largely and continuously, or ended it in these long sharp points. The movement of the dancer's feet, is it Persian again, or Chinese, or a little of both and newer than either? Why is the sense of motion one gets from this group a sense of exquisite lightness? Well, a little because the group is so open, because the shapes of all these open spaces are what they are; think what would be lost, of movement and freedom and life, if either of these large-headed little gazelles had touched the dancer's scarf. But mostly because the movement of the group is conceived as a whole, because the bones of the three creatures are right and their muscles play truly, so that we stand off and wonder at the energy of their springing.

Where life and joy so abound, conventions and traditions do little for the artist except to free his creative force. With Manship an abundance of life and joy is also an abundant productiveness. Everywhere in Mr. Birnbaum's rooms we see signs of an ability to do something new with something that used to be old. He has not only, by simplification and emphasis, conventionalized anatomy beautifully in "Christ Crucified," he has made the tendons a decoration. In the sketch called "Dawn" the figure is almost as much like ore as the base is like a lump of quartz. He has given a superb speed to that broken crescent called the "Flight of Night." We think of the way of a master with a glove when we look at his early "Portrait Statuette," and enjoy the ease of those gloved hands, though one of them is bent back further than you can bend yours. His "Sundial," even if he has put less of himself into it, and has left in it more of the East he has studied, is a real though rather heavy-handed dream in the sun, where the quiet figure of time dreams the moving hours of her halo. From a distance the relief in the "Vase" looks like part of the surface, it is made of such imperceptible differences of plane. Seen close the vase is full of rich and enveloped form. It is made of materials that might have been bizarre if used with less wisdom, if they were not so contained in the perfection of the contours. Of the portrait medals there is not much to say except that they are a little soft and undecided, they show Manship's lack of interest in the characteristics by which an individual approaches uniqueness.

Beautifully designed, and framed in all the riches of the Renaissance, is "The Artist's Daughter, Pauline Frances, three weeks old," which is to find its home, thanks to the discriminating generosity of Mrs. Edward F. Dwight, in the Metropolitan Museum. This baby, accepted so completely just as she is, done so mercilessly and with such deference to the particular fact, forces one to deny everything the portrait medals provoke one to say about Manship. Yet even here, although the individual baby is represented with all her accidents of form, there is abstraction, there is the kernel of something universally human. Masterpieces are of many kinds, and not all of them compel you to call them by name at first sight. Here is one that does compel you to call it a masterpiece.

Although the baby's lips and her hair are done with as much color as sculpture can have, Manship's interest in color, in the form-defining play of light and shade on a modelled surface, is on the whole rather slight. Slightest of all is his interest in atmosphere, which many sculptors now nearing old age have cared for beyond anything else. Nowhere in Manship is any sense of atmosphere betrayed. He cares nothing for the unrevealed. He never tries to express anything for which the material he happens to be using is not absolutely the best medium of expression. With each of his materials he seems easily to know just what to do. Contact with them gives him the kind of pleasure we envy in happy carpenters or goldsmiths. When his fingers touch the clay, the design he has imagined is quickened and begins to grow toward completeness. Design is what he cares for most of all, and it is unusual for such a masterful designer, for a man with such a firm imaginative grip upon the relation of each part to every other and the whole, to have so much interest left over for mere pattern. My uneasiness about his future, if I absolutely must show myself as a little uneasy, would appear at this point, as a fear

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that the lover of pattern may gain upon the designer, may lower his vitality, may turn him toward prettiness.

His imitativeness does not disquiet me at all. While we are talking, so many of us, about being original and ourselves, he has opened the doors into many traditions, looked appraisingly at the riches in each, and walked off with whatever he needed for his own originality. His function is to take old forms and re-create them into forms expressive of his own energy. And about energy, in every fresh manifestation of it, there is always something contemporary, a sharp taste of the present.

Of the many impressions left by this exhibition the one that comes nearest to including the others is a sense of so much energy that something is left over, of an excess appearing in his work as a spirit of play, of an imagination that keeps welling up and is like a running over of strength.

GEORGE HUMBER.

A Policy for Ireland

TO say that Irishmen can lack humor is a heterodoxy. It is a heterodoxy to which a recent large assembly of Irishmen gave an aspect of grim truth.

Some jokes are necessarily wasted on an Irishman. There is, for example, that old-time merry English conjunction of Paddy and his pig. That an Irishman's home could also be his pigstye used to amuse the average Englishman greatly. He thought of the Irishman as choosing the pig for roommate out of a funny national idiosyncrasy. He jovially imagined the pig in the parlor to be a sort of Irish cricket on the hearth. The joke, somehow, has never had the same force among Irishmen. What seemed uproariously funny to the well fed outsider seemed degrading and obscene to the insider. The pig in the parlor was about as funny to the thinking Irishman as typhus fever or infant mortality or tuberculosis is funny. And the Englishman who gave fat chuckles over it was just the sort of person that the Irishman supposed the Englishman to be.

It is not in his failure to laugh about such things as the pig that an Irishman lacks humor. It is rather in a gift for too readily deciding that the only way to cook this or any other pig is to burn down the house.

Such a superheated decision was the main achievement of the Irish Race Convention that met in New York on March 4th and 5th. The object of the convention was to reveal a racial attitude on the war. That attitude was summed up in the speeches of Judge Goff of New York and Mr. P. H. O'Donnell of Chicago. We have one supreme interest, and only one, said Judge Goff in the name of the Irish people, and that is to see England defeated. "I want," said Mr. O'Donnell, "to see the power of England broken on land and sea. It is treason to our race to hope for or to help in an English victory." These sentiments were popular. Men and women stood up to cheer Mr. O'Donnell. Judge Goff's assertion as to Ireland's supreme interest received thunderous applause.

To pro-Ally Americans not conversant with Irish tradition such sentiments could not fail to be shocking. And when men are shocked in wartime they usually try to slay with their mouths. The Irish speakers were promptly classed as pinchbeck patriots, men of unexampled impudence. What they had said was freely characterized as vindictive, venomous, blatant, contemptible, traitorous and foul.

To meet unwelcome opinions with hearty insult certainly makes shallow men feel vigorous. But the real point about the Irish Race Convention was not the quality of the patriots who conducted it. Neither was it the supposed "treachery" to the cause of the Allies. It is difficult, of course, to think of machine politicians as the best spokesmen for any people. There were too many of these men in this convention. Between their lofty precepts for English statesmen and their own record of citizenship in America there is a discrepancy at which the gods must roar with laughter. Some of the speakers, moreover, gave symptoms of an inflammation of the hyphen. They suggested that hyphenitis might one day need ice-bags. But behind all this there is a contention to be considered on its merits, the positive contention of the assembly that the best thing for Ireland is the downfall of England, and the implication that only on the broken fragments of the British Empire can Ireland pave a way to be free.

The Irish aspiration to independence is an old and a dear one. The greatest popular Irish leaders, with the exception of O'Connell, have entertained it, and it has been held by such conservative Englishmen as Professor A. V. Dicey, the constitutionalist, that they occupy a position of which no man has any cause to be ashamed. "The opinion that, considering the misery which has marked the connection between England and

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Ireland, the happiest thing for the weaker country would be complete separation from the United Kingdom, is one which in common with most Englishmen, and, it may be added, in common with the wisest foreign observers, I do not share," says Professor Dicey, "but fairness requires the admission that it is an opinion which a man may hold and act upon, without incurring the charge either of folly or of wickedness." As a conception, clearly, the independence of Ireland is just as reputable for Irishmen as the independence of Belgium for Belgians or the independence of Cuba for Cubans or, for that matter, the independence of the United States for a people that celebrates Independence Day.

What seems preposterous in the present instance is not the aspiration of the Irish Race Convention in New York but the myth that English defeat will mean Irish victory and the greater myth that the way to help Ireland is to noise Irish freedom at a meeting in New York.

The charges that the Irish can bring against England are, in my opinion, the most deadly that one modern European group can bring against another. English selfishness and stupidity sacrificed the healthy development of the Irish people. The pathology of Ireland is known all over the world as England's responsibility, her shame, her disgrace. The question, however, is not the responsibility for that pathology. It is the cure. And the way to cure Ireland is no more by destroying the English than the way to cure a legacy of gout is by destroying the present descendant of your great-grandfather's cook.

One real trouble with Ireland to-day, however, is that the kind of people who did the poisoning still continue to manage the cooking. Ireland is still largely under the selfish and antipathetic control of an undemocratic gang. From the standpoint of administration the weaker country is stiflingly colonial. It is this fact, not any monstrosity of memory, that keeps Irish history alive. And so long as England stands against giving nationalist Irishmen their democratic opportunity in Ireland, so long will the full tradition of her evil conquest flourish. The British Empire will continue to be a meaningless myth in Ireland, or else will be actively hated and scorned. This is something which with marvelous obtuseness the English government continues to ignore.

But obtuseness is not an English monopoly. It has its counterpart among Irish-Americans. Nothing could be more laughable than their recommendation to Ireland of a policy magnificently quixotic which it never occurs to them requires gigantic resources. "Never" is perhaps not fair. That unselfish veteran John Devoy did put his aspiration in practical terms. "To enable Ireland to fight for her liberty and to win it, $100,000,000 would be a very small amount of money." This was real talk, but except for Professor Robert Ellis Thompson's statement that "the poverty of Ireland is her weakness—make her industrially independent, and sooner or later she will be politically independent also, a nation among the nations"—it was the only foothold of hard sense in an iridescent oratorical sea.

If the Irishmen in America had invested $10,000,000 or even $1,000,000 in the Irish Volunteers they would be in a much better position now to win credence for their separatist program. But it is easier to talk of revolutions than to back them, easier to talk of the grand old Gaelic tongue than to learn it or finance its study, easier to talk of "industrial interests" than to make an American market for Irish tweeds and silks or capitalize Irish stockyards or motor transit, easier to talk of "labor interests" than to win the fight for Jim Larkin.

Unless the British Empire disappears, which is rather unlikely, Ireland must continue to be interdependent with it. Whether that interdependence is political or not is in essence a detail. The obvious fact is that if there is to be any Ireland to make free in the end, the Irish, like the Boers, must undertake to make the best bargain they can. There is nothing romantic about home rule. On the other hand, there is nothing fantastic. To make it go will require a sounder financial basis than was originally provided. A well devised and well advertised program of that sound basis would perhaps be the best weapon that Irish-Americans could have in hand to renew the fight for Ireland at the end of the war. To make home rule succeed will require immense tact in dealing with Ulster. But the greatest tact in dealing with Ulster is to assure it that Ireland will have good credit, and if Irishmen in America could furnish the sinews for the land war they ought to be able to furnish the brains and the credit for the even greater problem of finance.

The reconstruction of Ireland has a terrible enemy in the selfishness and stupidity of certain greedy ruling-class Englishmen—men like Austen Chamberlain who fight home rule for Ireland because "it would bring bankruptcy and disaster to many British firms." But even ruling-class Germans have their own selfishness and stupidity. One great task that influential Irish-Americans could undertake would be to neutralize the capitalistic weakness of Ireland. They can do it if they bend themselves to it in time.

The United States cannot be persuaded to accept a bogey of English baseness and malignancy. It is

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one of so many similar bogies that is competing for the stage. But if the home rule England gives Ireland is not feasible, if her guarantees are not fulfilled scrupulously, there is a public opinion in this country which, properly instructed by Irishmen who can roast pigs without burning houses, may be made to use the goads of peace.

FRANCIS HACKETT.

A Diary of Evolution

In a Small Country Town

AGE

5-12 Accept Bible as written, God, Christ, and The Angels in toto, Fixed Heaven and Hell, the Good and the Bad.

12-14 Believe Bible "inspired," but not all "literal." Shed Fixed Hell. See Satan as Force of Evil. Doubt Divinity of Christ.

14-16 Read Bible as history and legend. Shed Divinity of Christ, and The Angels. Keep God as Love, Justice, and Father of Mankind. Have fixed ideas of Right and Wrong, but become interested in the Bad.

16-18 Browning stage. Frame "God's in His Heaven, All's Right With the World." Parade aggressive Optimism. Accept "World as it is." Preach Duty of Cheerfulness, etc. Orthodox as to Poverty and the Working Classes.

18-19 Honest Doubt. Learn Omar Khayyam by heart. Shed Heaven. Question Personal God. Put away "God's in His Heaven." More liberal as to Sin.

19-22 General mental tangle. Study Theosophy and Reincarnation, Spiritualism and Christian Science. Shed Personal God. Call Him Force, the First Cause, the Guiding Principle, Universal Law, etc. Believe in Mind Over Matter, and Love as Constructive Force. Shed fixed ideas of Right and Wrong. See Sin as Defective Education. Morality the new religion. Frame Henley's "Invictus." Exalt The Self. Believe in Human Nature. Get first glimmer of Evolution. Hear vaguely of Socialism. Realize The Brotherhood of Man with due regard for Classes and Types.

In New York

22-23 Discover Bernard Shaw. Shed everything else.

23-25 Plunge into psychology, biology, history. Doubt everything but Scientific Facts. Shed God in any form. Learn the Relativity of Truth. Meet Socialists. Investigate Sex War and Wage War. Have Temperament. Exalt the Intellect. Despise the Average Person. Put "Invictus" away in a drawer.

25-26 Begin again. The new religion—socialism; the new god—humanity; the new Christ—the man, the carpenter; the new devils—poverty, capitalism; the new heaven and hell—the earth; the new Bible—Marx, Wells, The Fabian Society, The Economists; the new sins—ignorance, indifference; the new temples—the street corner, the lecture hall; the new idealism—*liberté, égalité, fraternité;* the new words—Individualism, Communism, Humanitarianism.

26-28 Preach Radicalism, Anarchism, Agitation, and No Compromise. Despise Laws, Ceremonies, Traditions, and Precedents. Believe in Free Love. Exalt Sincerity. Proclaim The Facts of Life. Lose Temperament in the flurry of general destruction. Tolerate all Comrades in the March of Progress. Believe in The People and the Natural Rights of Man.

28-30 Doubt adequacy of Anarchism. Begin to suspect The People. Consider Organization, Coöperation, and Education. Study Unions and Statistics. See need for Some Compromise. Shed Anarchism and Agitation.

30-32 Join a union. Believe in the Wage War. Preach Unity and Sacrifice for the Good of All. Lead Strikes.

32-33 Doubt possibility of Unity. Suspect motives of leaders. Question effectiveness of Sacrifice. Hazy as to definition of The Good of All. Lose illusions about The People. See hope in Political Action. Shed Unions and The Working Man.

33-34 Go into politics. Learn the value of Compromise. Suspect the wisdom of Sincerity. Drop Free Love. Uphold Laws and Ceremonies. Hide The Facts of Life. Try Merit and Reason upon the politician. Suspect the power of Merit and Reason. Try Money and Influence upon the politician. Perceive their immediate and decisive effect. Suspect possibility of Democracy as defined by Lincoln. Suspect the politician. Suspect myself. Begin to feel tired.

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34-35 Shed politics and the politician. Turn to Social Service. Join four Clubs and three Movements. Boost the Feminists and Suffragists. Talk, and listen to talk. Begin to suspect Movements. Suspect all Human Nature. Get more tired.

35-36 A great weariness. Sick of Action. Sick of Words. Sick of Humanity. No illusions left. Shed everything. Do nothing. Turn to Art.

36-37 Believe in Art. Recover Temperament, but don't mention it. Fall in love with an artist. Believe in love. Believe in the artist. Get married.

37 Have a child, who will begin it all over again.

JANE MANDER.

A National Inheritance Tax

THE preparedness campaign and the consequent need of increasing the revenue of the national government have brought forward a fiscal problem more important than any which has hitherto confronted the nation. We have gone through three stages in our fiscal history. Apart from the short-lived experiment made almost at the outset by the Federalists, the national government depended for its support for over half a century, and with only a slight interlude during the war with Great Britain, well nigh exclusively upon one form of indirect taxation—the customs revenue. The Civil War taught the country the inadequacy of this primitive system, and added as a permanent feature the other side of indirect taxation known as the internal revenue. After almost half a century's experimenting with this second phase, the country reverted in 1909 to Hamilton's original idea, and decided to draw a part of its fiscal support from direct as well as indirect taxation. Beginning with the corporation or excise tax, it soon added an income tax, and is now seriously considering the imposition of an inheritance tax.

This transition from indirect to direct taxation is an interesting phenomenon. Regarded as a democratic movement, it represents a world-wide tendency to bring existing systems of taxation into harmony with the principle of ability to pay and the endeavor to lighten the load which rests upon the less wealthy classes. In the United States, the particular form which the movement is assuming is in no small degree influenced by the consideration that, although the direct taxes levied by the states and localities do not bear with special hardship upon the poor, it is precisely the larger fortunes that are escaping their fair share of the public burdens. It is natural, therefore, to witness, in this third stage of our fiscal history, a movement which attempts at the same time to diminish the burden on the poor by a reduction of the indirect taxes, and to augment the burden on the rich by federal direct taxes.

That this movement may be pushed too far is probable. More direct taxes are indeed needed; but an exclusive, or even a preponderant, reliance on direct taxes is both hazardous and unnecessary. It is hazardous because the history of every nation has taught that the narrower the base of taxation, the greater are the difficulties. The fiscal objections to a single tax apply to a single system of any kind. Exclusive reliance for local, state, and federal revenues on any combination of direct taxes alone would necessitate such high rates as greatly to multiply the inherent difficulties in any system. It is a significant fact that even the most democratic countries like England, Australia and Switzerland continue to rely in large part upon indirect taxation, and that in Canada, as well as in Great Britain, the recently added war burdens have been divided between indirect and direct taxes. Those who enthusiastically contemplate a total abandonment by the national government of its indirect taxes are living in a fool's paradise.

Furthermore, such an abandonment is as unnecessary as it is hazardous. Many think of indirect taxation as being virtually taxation on the consumption of the poor. That this has been in large measure true in the past is undoubted; but that it is necessarily true is incorrect. For, in the first place, it is possible to apply to indirect taxation the graduated or progressive principle which is now becoming so popular in the case of direct taxation. Why should not taxation on consumption be so graded as to fall with heavier impact on the consumption of the wealthier classes? Why should not the whisky tax be imposed at a higher rate on the better grades? Why should not the tobacco tax be so arranged as to increase progressively with the price of the cigar? If we apply graduated taxation to incomes, inheritances and property, why should we not utilize the same principle as far as practicable in the case of articles of consumption? And, in the second place, indirect taxes are by no means limited to consumable commodities. In the shape of certain stamp taxes they can be applied to transactions so as to combine with great revenue a relatively slight burden on business, and a still slighter burden on the small business man. If the necessities of the national revenue should one day become really urgent, it will be found that we shall not only be unable to dispense with indirect taxes, but that it will be possible to frame a system of indirect taxation which will be in large measure free from the objections that are usually advanced.

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For the immediate future, however, it may be conceded that a relatively larger proportion of national revenues should be derived from direct taxation; and the question before the country now is as to what form it should take. This has brought into the forefront of discussion a matter which has hitherto engaged the attention of only a few students of public finance: the relations of national, state, and local fiscal systems. As long as the revenue needs were few and simple, it was possible to live, as it were, in water-tight compartments, with a strict division between the national and state systems. But as soon as revenue needs became important, we were bound to witness the emergence of the same difficulties that have confronted the older federal states. As soon as the national corporation excise tax was introduced, careful thinkers began to ask what should be its relation to the state tax on corporations. As soon as the national income tax was enforced, it affected the problem of the possible reform of our state and local systems through a state income tax. And now, when we hear mutterings of a national inheritance tax, we are met by the insistent demand of the states that they should be left in complete possession of a field which some of them have already begun to cultivate.

The complex problem of the relations of national and state taxation of corporations and of individual incomes cannot be disposed of in a few words. It is a subject that will require careful thinking and statesmanlike action in the not distant future. But even with the restoration of the sugar tax, and the doubling of the yield of the income tax, it is more than likely that additional revenues will have to be provided in the immediate future for the national government. The question at once arises, why should not this additional revenue come from an inheritance tax?

It is obvious that we have here an almost untapped source of income. In 1913, the year of the latest census report, inheritance taxes were levied by thirty-five states with a total yield of a little over twenty-six million dollars. In the same year Great Britain raised over one hundred and thirty-five million dollars from its inheritance tax. Yet the national wealth of Great Britain at present is only between seventy or eighty billions, as compared with between one hundred and eighty and two hundred billions in the United States. It would be entirely safe to assert that if inheritances in the United States at the present time were to be taxed at the same rate and with the same effectiveness as in England before the war, we could easily raise three hundred and fifty millions from this source alone. Compared with this, twenty-six millions that we are now receiving is a beggarly pittance. The yield with us is so insignificant not only because our rates are low, but also because the well known complexities of interstate taxation facilitate an evasion of the tax which would be altogether impossible under a national law.

The fact remains, however, that the states now need and will continue to need a revenue from the inheritance tax. How then, can this three-pronged problem be solved? How, in other words, can we dispose once and for all of, first, the need of increasing revenue on the part of the national government; second, of the retention or increase of such revenue for the state government; and third, of the present undertaxation of some inheritances and double taxation of others, due to our interstate complexities?

The solution, I venture to assert, is a simple one: the taxation at a progressive but comparatively low rate of all inheritances by national law and the distribution of a part of the proceeds back to the states. If the national government were to levy both a direct and a collateral inheritance tax at even one-half the rates found in England before the war, and if it were to return forty per cent to the states, not only would the national government have an additional hundred millions of revenue, but the states would receive two or three times as much as they are now able to secure from this source. In other words, a national inheritance tax, with an equitable division of the yield, would benefit state and nation alike and would go far to solve our most pressing fiscal problem.

The question will at once arise, is such a project constitutional? When the present writer first advanced this scheme several years ago, some of our prominent lawyers shook their heads in grave doubt. The last few years, however, have seen a great change in sentiment and it is now reasonably certain that the plan can be worked out either directly or indirectly.

The Constitution gives the national government the power to levy taxes, but does not restrict the government in its power to dispose of the proceeds. In 1836 the national government distributed to the separate states twenty-seven millions of its surplus. Time and time again the national government has turned over to the states its property consisting of lands, and has apportioned to the states all manner of aid or contributions from the national treasury. There are not a few ways in which the projected scheme could be realized. The national government might for instance utilize the machinery of administration of the inheritance tax as practised by the several states, and might distribute to them a certain share of the proceeds as compensation therefor. Or the government might retain the entire proceeds of the inheritance tax and then by a separate measure provide for a periodical deposit

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among the states of certain sums. The execution of the plan presents no insuperable difficulties; the important thing is a realization of its need and its justice.

As I have pointed out in another place, the old doctrine of separation of source, as between federal and state revenues, needs to be supplemented by the newer doctrine of division of yield. Until our statesmen realize that the fiscal problem of the United States must be envisaged as a whole, and that neither state jealousy nor national usurpation can be allowed to dominate—not until then can the problem be solved. Whether the inheritance tax bill is introduced as a separate measure, or whether inheritances are to be included as income within the new income tax bill, it is important to realize that we are standing on the threshold of an entirely new system. Upon the wisdom with which the inheritance tax issue is treated in the present Congress will depend in large measure the precise character of the impending reforms in American state as well as national finance. It is time that the discussion be put upon the high plane which it deserves.

EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

Integrated America—Service or Self Interest?

SIR: Granted that to integrate America it is necessary to have an economic constructive program such as that suggested by Mr. Walter Lippmann. Granted that the program which he suggests is sound. It seems to me that he has failed to express the most fundamental present need of this country. His program lacks soul. Would Tom Jones, or Michael O'Flaherty, or Simeon Gabrilowitch be more inclined to go out, leave his family, and defend his country because the paternal government through an agency with an office three blocks away was dealing out pensions to his aged relatives; or would he feel more nearly in harmony with the statesmen who preside over our destinies at Washington because the conductor on the railway train had an eagle instead of a "P. R. R." on his coat buttons; or because every time he had to send an express package, or check a trunk, or turn in a bill of lading he had to deal with a federal officer rather than the representative of a "soulless corporation"? Probably not. Yet in its essence this would seem to be what Mr. Lippmann suggests.

Some of those who believe in universal service will object strenuously to Mr. Lippmann's suggestions as being socialistic and dangerous to the state.

Personally, I believe in federal incorporation, in an increase of federal authority all along the line, old age pensions and all that sort of thing (although I don't understand it very well, it sounds good to me). The nationalization of the railways, the telegraph wires and telephone may all be necessary. I don't think these things half as dangerous as some would have us believe. Before this great war came Germany, France and England were pretty efficient, property rights were respected, the bankers made almost as much money as they were entitled to, individual initiative was not entirely suppressed. All this despite the fact that in Germany the government owned the railways, while in all three countries the telegraph and telephone are under national control. All these things make for nationalization in that they make for a better national organization. They are economic means to a national political end.

But Mr. Walter Lippmann proposes his economic program as better calculated to integrate the people of this country, as more likely to give them a national consciousness, than would universal military service.

Admitting that we do not for military reasons need universal service, there are still other reasons which would make it desirable. Mr. Lippmann does not believe in military training. He says so. But I wonder if he really understands it. He says that to follow a dull schooling by a still duller period of military training would not help much. Service in the army for the enlisted man may not be very inspiring. Why should it be? He is a hireling. He gets so much a month in return for running a chance of going out and getting shot in the interest of those who are too proud to fight and too mean to pass sufficient appropriations to make the army an effective military instrument. We don't care much for compulsory education because when we have to undergo this process we are too young to understand. A wise state is endeavoring to prepare us for the duties of citizenship, but nobody ever explains it that way. Yet in after life, the man who has been through a public school has a good deal better understanding of the point of view of his fellow citizens than has he who went off to some private institution and associated with other boys of the same class. Mr. Lippmann's program may be a supplement to but not a substitute for universal service. Both an economic program along the lines he suggests and a program for service of some sort—and military service is that most easily understood—are desirable from the point of view of national organization. Widow's pensions and government railways and telephones are not going to give the various elements in our population the close contact of common duty. There is an inspiration of common service in wearing a common uniform and for a certain period in each year for a certain number of years working side by side in the open air. Under the right system every man stands on his own feet on a basis of equality. He is judged by his performance and not by his position. The natural leader emerges and real merit is recognized. It is an inspiring thing to serve with hundreds and thousands of others, all of whom are fulfilling universal obligations of manhood citizenship. It is worth while to feel that one is training to defend ideals which we believe to be our national aspiration. To be ordered to do this by a government in which he had no part would defeat its own end. To vote for it and impose it upon ourselves makes it not compulsory service but in reality a task which we undertake of our own volition. If every young man were given an opportunity to serve in such an atmosphere—and such an atmosphere could be created—he would be a better citizen. We all of us receive benefits from the state. We receive police protection, fire protection, we get city water, but can we tolerate the suggestion that in time of national crisis we

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would draw up our little balance sheet and say, "Yes, I had a fire this year, the Department put it out. City water has been good and a policeman prevented a thief from getting into my house. I will therefore enlist to serve my country." It isn't so much a question of the state doing more for us as it is of our doing more for the state. Universal service is not a panacea—but it is one of the most potent possibilities for bringing to us a sense of obligation which is what many of us need. We must all be made to feel not only that we have a stake in the country but that the possession of that interest in giving us opportunity imposes responsibility as well. Mr. Lippmann has contributed toward a solution of our problems, but to make his program live he must give it the breath of life—in addition to the economic structure that he has suggested.

NICOTINUS.

New York City.

[Note: Once upon a time there was a political party known as the Bull Moose. It began life with a very large equipment of soul. It sang, it prayed, it invoked the Lord. It had the breath of life all right, but it lacked the rib which meant so much to Adam. Its creators made it all soul and no bones, for they felt that to extract the rib from Eve while she slept would arouse the conservatism of Eve's nature. Now Adam lived, not as soulfully as he might have, but nevertheless he lived with the help of that rib and has had a long line of descendants. But the Progressive Party, created almost entirely out of breath, made one brilliant gasp, and died short-winded.

Economic organization is the bones of a nation's life, and all I was trying to suggest by "Integrated America" was that a cohesive people requires a cohesive economic system, that you cannot nationalize a people merely by exhorting them or by teaching them military tactics in Plattsburg camps.—WALTER LIPPMANN.]

Trak not Mesopotamia

SIR: I should like to call attention to an error in your issue of January 8th, in which you print an article by Mr. Gerald Morgan about recent operations in the Persian Gulf, under the title of "Mesopotamia." This district is loosely defined as the territory between "the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris"; and although the definition holds good in part, yet the region where hostilities are being undertaken should really be called the province of Trak. Indeed, the Turks alone display a knowledge of the topographical features of the province by giving its correct name in their dispatches.

The mistake can best be explained by comparing the tract of land that lies between these two rivers to an hour-glass with a narrow central portion. This comparison is readily understood when we remember that the Tigris and the Euphrates rise in close proximity to one another in the Caucasian Mountains, and although at first widely divergent, draw closer and closer together until at Bagdad they are about thirty miles apart. The territory they enclose corresponds to the upper half of an hour-glass, and this part of Asia Minor is correctly called "Mesopotamia," "the country between the rivers." But from this point the rivers branch out again, and not until at Karua, which is approximately two hundred and fifty miles from Bagdad and about eighty miles as the crow flies from the Persian Gulf, do they effect a junction. The terrain, which, like the lower half of an hour-glass, is situated between them is called the province of Trak; and it is in this region, not in Mesopotamia, that hostile encounters are taking place. In fact, not until the British expeditionary force has captured Bagdad will a Mesopotamian campaign be a feasible possibility.

VERNAM HULL.

Cambridge.

Wind and Windmills

SIR: Over a period of many months you have given to your readers, in a series of most interesting and illuminating articles, your views as to the proper attitude of this country towards the belligerents. You have advocated an alliance with England, you have criticized the British blockade policy, you have condemned the German atrocities and you have stated that you believed that Germany should be revived after the war, chastised but not unduly shackled because of her past performances. Many of our fellow countrymen are admittedly and blindly pro-Ally in their sentiments. Many American citizens of German birth or descent have been vociferously pro-German. Some Americans have taken a less extreme but I believe equally pernicious and perverted view. You have conscientiously endeavored to be "pro-American." I believe that you are really pro-Ally by conviction as well as by sympathy, but your attitude has not been so partisan as to make you unwilling to discriminate between the wheat and the chaff in that which has been said for the other side. Naturally in these days when men "see red," they have little patience with your qualifications one way or the other. They therefore berate you soundly whenever an opportunity offers. I believe that I am candid enough to agree with your position and intelligent enough to understand and sympathize with your point of view.

Therefore, I trust that you will forgive my suggesting that if you would come down from Parnassus and stop chasing what seem to me frequently to be rainbows, you would find that you, yourself, and our English and pro-Ally friends who now consider you pro-German, are not in reality so far apart. You urge that people should stop arguing about who started the war and begin to consider the sort of a world we will all have to live in when the war is over. You assert that Germany must not be "crushed," that continued political domination of German territory by the victorious Allies—and I sincerely trust they may soon be victorious—would leave a festering sore which would make for fresh trouble in Europe. As regards this latter contention, I imagine most Englishmen would agree with you. But if you mean that Germany should not be punished, if you desire a return to the *status quo ante*, it seems to me you are asking too much. If you had lost a son, or a father, or a brother, or a husband, or half a dozen cousins; if you had entertained in your house those who had suffered from the massacres in Belgium; if your own country had suffered so terribly from the strain of a war brought on by wanton German aggression, you would be adamant in your determination that, if possible, Germany should be made to pay.

Your attitude, as you express it, seems to me academic and inhuman, in that you bespeak a sweet reasonableness which is unwarranted by the circumstances. Of course you are addressing an American audience and the Englishman reads your columns at his peril. But even at that you "get his goat." No wonder. Why should he be inclined to discuss these matters in a philosophic frame of

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mind? He is fighting. It is your attitude of intellectual aloofness that annoys him. He really wouldn't disagree with the essential justice of your views. Germany must pay. As to this you may concur. The question is, how?

I do not believe that the Allies, if they win the war, will attempt to station troops on German territory. I do not believe they will attempt to interfere with German domestic policy except to protect themselves for the future. To do so after the lessons of Poland and Alsace-Lorraine would be manifestly foolish. Recent reports from England and the Continent, however, indicate that plans are already under way for commercial reprisals. German vessels may not be allowed to call at British, French or Russian ports; prohibitive duties may be imposed against goods made in Germany; German firms may not be allowed to do business in the Allied countries; British, French and Belgian money will no longer be available for German industry; it will no longer be possible to finance German enterprises in South America, or China, or Africa, or the Balkans, or Turkey, from London, Paris or Brussels; the London and Paris discount markets will no longer be open to the long-term bills which enabled the German traders to grant six months, nine months, one year credits for foreign customers in order to compete successfully with the British over-seas trade.

Why should it be otherwise, when all over the world German merchants, bankers, missionaries and steamship and hotel men have been the agents for German propaganda spread insidiously to prepare for "Der Tag" on which the British Empire should be overthrown and Germany be supreme? Do you not agree that steps such as those outlined above are justifiable? Would you urge that there should be no retribution and that those who have suffered should once again tolerate those of whose treachery they are now fully aware? Once the war is over the Allies must recoup their losses. They must prepare themselves to bear the tremendous burden which the war has imposed. Why should they not take steps to exclude the Germans from any possible profit in the post-bellum trade from which they must gain their national livelihood? They have found that it is possible for them to exist even though the enormous trade which they formerly had with Germany has been completely cut off. Why should they not continue this situation in the future? These are measures which the Allies will adopt, and you must admit that they are justifiable.

The political extermination of Germany is another question. It is much more complicated and much less likely to be carefully worked out. Commercial annihilation, however, may have the same result. But are the measures mentioned so reprehensible? Would you suggest that Germany be welcomed back into the international fold? Because an excited Englishman or Russian or Frenchman tells you that he is going to crush Germany, why is it necessary to become equally excited and to tell him that he is a horrid, disreputable fellow? He is at war; you are not. His excitement is natural. At the moment he may mean all that he says. He would probably tell you that he would gladly hang every German he could lay his hands on along the trees on Fifth Avenue. What's more, he would mean it. Once they were in his power, he would probably give them cigarettes and ask them if their socks were clean. If some of our friends are tilting at windmills, there is no reason why you should take their utterances at face value. What's the use of arguing with them? Remember the circumstances in which they are placed. Ask them just what they propose to do. You will find, I believe, that their program is more or less as outlined above. It seems to me entirely proper under the circumstances. Confucius said, "Reward good with good and evil with justice." With this maxim I believe you will agree.

P. R. T.

Missouri.

[NOTE: Our correspondent asks us to reconcile irreconcilable states of mind and to seek the achievement of contradictory results. After approving of the attempt to discuss the issues of the war in a disinterested way and with a view to American needs, he criticizes our attitude as being academic and inhuman because in their present state of mind Englishmen and Frenchmen are irritated by our intellectual "aloofness." How much independent thinking would Americans achieve about the war if they abjured all ideas which seem "aloof" to men whose passions and wills are possessed by necessarily intense and headstrong partisanship? Assuming, as P. R. T. admits, that it is worth while to think independently about such deeply controversial matters, one could not allow one's thinking to be controlled by the feeling of those who have lost sons and brothers in this war without the sacrifice of intellectual thoroughness and probity. Our opinions as to the issues of the war may or may not have any substantial value, but if so they should be condemned not because they are "aloof" but because they are biased, inconsistent, irrelevant or actually false.

Later in his letter P. R. T. does accuse THE NEW REPUBLIC of thinking irrelevantly because we have passed some criticisms upon the declared intention of Great Britain, France and Russia to "crush" Germany. But such criticisms are not irrelevant. Englishmen and Frenchmen are at one moment claiming the sympathy and support of the United States because they are fighting the battle of civilization; and at the next moment they are proposing political and economic policies with respect to Germany which are born of an exclusive and jealous nationalism rather than of civilized ideals. It makes no difference whether the means used to "annihilate" Germany are political or economic. It is the declared purpose of destroying the future influence and prosperity of the German nation to which Americans with any loyalty to their own democratic ideals are bound to object. How could the American advocates of an alliance with Great Britain fairly ask American citizens of German parentage to consent to the political and economic coöperation of the United States with a group of European nations which are acting on a political and economic policy designed to destroy the power and prosperity of their German fatherland?

It is of course to be expected that after the war is over Great Britain will withdraw from German merchants the exceptional commercial and financial opportunities which they enjoyed before the war. To propose a return to the commercial and financial *status quo ante bellum* would not only be asking too much of human nature but would be ignoring too many facts. The Germans should be made to feel the pressure of public want of confidence and disapproval, both among their present enemies and among neutrals; but the object of such pressure should not, as our correspondent states, be to punish them for wrongdoing. Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord. A policy of punishment would be in the long run as costly to the Allies as to the Central Powers. It would not only deprive them of profitable intercourse with one of the great industrial populations,

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but the effort to compass the economic starvation of Germany would furnish all neutrals with an irresistible inducement to seek the trade which the Allies were renouncing, and it would result in an ultimate dissension among the Allies themselves. If the war of blood and iron is succeeded by an equally ruthless war of treaties and tariffs, the compact, completely organized and deeply earnest population of Central Europe will have a greater strategic advantage over their scattered, heterogeneous, and less disciplined opponents in fighting with commerce than they have in fighting with cannon. A program confined to economic reprisal and pushed beyond a certain point would be as suicidal as a program of military reprisal.

Any commercial reprisals which are undertaken at the end of the war should not, consequently, put too much strain on the cohesion of the Allies and the sympathy of neutrals. Its object should be not to starve German trade, but to make the Allies temporarily somewhat more independent of a Power whom they have reason to distrust. And even within these limitations a program of commercial reprisal should show a constructive and healing rather than a negative and punitive object. Every opportunity should be used to make the Germans understand that such discriminating regulations will be relaxed as soon as their government gives unmistakable evidence of change of attitude and a desire to adjust any serious difference which may be left outstanding by the treaty of peace. In short, the commercial, like the military, policy of the Allies towards Germany should not be moulded by the ultimate object of perpetuating and intensifying a feud. It should be reaching towards an understanding as to the bases of an international system into which Germany could ultimately enter as an unqualified equal. In no other way can the moral and physical anarchy which is now ravaging Europe and reacting so dubiously on the United States be eventually cured.—THE EDITORS.]

Potasch U. Perlemoer

SIR: Thanks for the ad. But The Hague is still in Holland and the title of that play is "Potasch en Perlemoer." Kindly make this correction. I know it is but a trifle. In these days, however, when big U's go about murderously attacking our commerce we care not to have the little u's in our language.

HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON.

Ithaca, New York.

"Nous Autres Hommes"

SIR: Miss West, in her article, "The World's Worst Failure," seems to have forgotten half the world. There is no doubt whatever that the average woman devotes a large part of her energy to pleasing because of an instinct urging her toward the manifestation of the deliberately chic. What Miss West particularly laments is the tendency to degrade impersonal work into a means toward gratifying that instinct. But how about the men? After all, most women try to please for the specific purpose of obtaining a mate, whereas the men, traditionally at least bound to please for the same end, are forced to like effort for their existence and survival as well. What clergyman or doctor, what lawyer or politician, what salesman, manufacturer or advertiser, what writer of popular books or music, what purveyor of amusements or editor of periodicals, what hotel man or restaurateur has not found his very life dependent upon a study in pleasing—exigent, minute, limitless in scope. If you will, it is one of the world's great failures that in order to obtain the success essential to economic independence it should be necessary for talent to prostitute itself.

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL.

New York City.

A Poet and a Seer

SIR: The discoveries of Mr. Wallace Herbert Blake concerning Mr. Santayana will surprise greatly the lovers of that philosopher. Mr. Blake writes feelingly of Mr. Santayana's accelerating rapprochement with "the ancient see of Rome"—fine drawing around of skirts here—of his "impending conversion," and calls the "Alleged Catholic Danger" an "apologia." (Evidently Mr. Louis H. Wetmore failed to be impressed by the apologetic note.) All of us who have been admiring the article as a happy specimen of the author's clarity of vision and freedom from prejudice in dealing with a theme usually handed over serenely to pious rancor and narrow-mindedness are, it seems, sadly mistaken. It also will be news to readers of "The Life of Reason" that Mr. Santayana is developing into a lawless mystic. Such shallow and misleading criticism is almost too much to endure, even from a priest of the Anglican obedience. It reveals snobbish ecclesiasticism at its favorite task—distorting and annulling the words of a poet and a seer.

DONALD LEIDIGH.

Columbus, Ohio.

Still Nothing New

SIR: Your reviewer, in his notice of Professor Ellsworth Huntington's "Civilization and Climate," seems to share the author's view that the realization of the influence of climate on race and culture is one of the latest results of modern thought. As a matter of fact, it is one of the very oldest of historical theories. I do not know whether the pages of THE NEW REPUBLIC are open to "mere learning," but your readers, and possibly Professor Huntington himself, may be interested to know that the Greek physician Hippocrates, in his Airs, Waters, and Places, first stated the theory that climate is responsible for some of the chief racial characteristics of men. The idea was elaborated by Plato, and especially by Aristotle in his "Politics," and it reappears after the Renaissance in the works of the French political theorist Bodin, in Bacon, in Bouhours, in Saint-Evremond, in Dennis and Dryden. It was a favorite subject for discussion in the eighteenth century, and received detailed treatment in Du Bos and in Montesquieu.

Professor Huntington describes his book as a "product of the new science of geography." I am not an expert in this new science, unless a life membership in the American Geographical Society has mysteriously made me one without my knowledge. But surely the "new science" will fail of its object in making dead maps vivid with the rich colors of life, if it ignores the contributions of other men in the widest fields of thought. Or does the modern scientist feel that he loses something of ultimate honor if he admits that he is merely a new husbandman in a field that has been cultivated since the most remote antiquity?

J. E. SPINGARN.

New York City.

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After the Play

THE best apology for Sir Herbert Tree's "Henry the Eighth" is that the play is not good Shakespeare. Being inferior Shakespeare, the apologists say, Sir Herbert is quite right to mount it and pageant it and prink it and peruke it like a cook on a paradisiac parade. This is a rather formidable defense. Granted that Shakespeare did not put poetic reality into this tragedy, granted that it fails to fill the heart, then Sir Herbert Tree had huge justification for using it as a glorious excuse for filling the eye. If it could not serve its own honest purpose as drama, it could be handsomely converted to libretto.

On this assumption it provides a magniloquent story, to put it mildly, and eleven stupendous opportunities for the production of eleven stunning scenes. There was the banqueting hall in Wolsey's palace, to be crowded with courtly gorgeousness. There was a hall in Blackfriars, to be picked out with cardinal red, to frame a sombre queen and a golden king. There was the pleasaunce at Windsor, a happy afterthought of the producer. There was the richly stoned and deeply shadowed antechamber to the chapel, a lightless basement fit for heavy downfall. There was Westminster Abbey itself, by the help of Percy Macquoid, R.I., and "his inspiring archeological advice." These scenes, once Shakespeare was subordinate, made wanton eyes at the lavish producer. They simply begged to be let loose in all their glory on a kind and submissive world.

And such chance for music! Dances, part songs, ballads, besides the slow music before the curtains and the overtures and music between the acts. Once Shakespeare was out of it more or less, people would love to be tuned up all through the performance, to have music to nibble like celery and olives, like the little interstitial dish of nuts.

But alas, poor Shakespeare! I knew him, Sir Herbert: a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy: he hath borne me on his back a thousand times; and now how abhorred in my imagination it is! my gorge rises at it. The day has not yet come, as I see it, when Shakespeare should be the clinging vine to this Tree. Or rather, if the day has in sooth actually come, it is not Shakespeare's day, but Shakespeare's foullest night. Foullest knight, Shakespeare would undoubtedly put it. But where be his gibes now? Not one now, quite chop-fallen.

For blame Fletcher as you may, "Henry the Eighth" is no moving-picture script. It is at core "sad, high and working, full of state and woe." Freed from the distraint of a pushing manager, allowed to have its place on a disputed stage, it could do much to carry out the true purpose of tragedy, to solemnize the heart, move it to terror and pity.

There are two entwined themes in "Henry the Eighth" that possess the tragic element. One is the fate of Wolsey, the other the fate of the queen. Of these, one, by sheer superiority of dramatic treatment, came out in the Tree production. For twenty years King Henry had been married to his Katherine. Then by the accident of a revel he came to decide on his divorce. In the fate of Katherine, Shakespeare beheld devotion and integrity afflicted, and affliction met like a queen. If the fidelity of Katherine had been dull fidelity, the blow would have been estimable but not inestimable. It is Katherine's full recognition of Wolsey's character, her full sense of the force that bears her down, that is the measure of her sense and of her dignity. And because Miss Edith Wynne Matthison did not take her part as an incident in a pageant, but as an interpretation in a human story, she made the humanity of that story the touching thing it ought to be. It is not often on the stage that the one quality essential to the interpretation must be an almost tangible quality of virtue. This quality above her mere queenliness distinguished the woman whom Henry the Eighth was about to disown. And this quality Miss Matthison celebrated with complete sympathy. Into Katherine's speech at Blackfriars, Shakespeare had poured all his understanding of her emergency and the depths within her that it stirred. Miss Matthison lived it out for the beholder, a woman very pitiful in her just cause.

But while Wolsey's emergency and Wolsey's erupted depths were also commanded by Shakespeare, the same cannot be said of the person who undertook to reveal them. There is something about a spotlight, especially an unpunctual and lopsided spotlight, that recalls one to the manager in the mummer. The emotion in the lines has a way of becoming dissipated when one sees a tardy spotlight creeping its errant way across a nose. Some imaginations may need this aid. For my part, "out, damned spot!" At no time was one enwrapped by this conception of Wolsey. It was a series of appropriate simulations, a succession of flashes, but the carburetor of sincerity was defective.

One of the problems of the moving-picture as an art is the failure of the picture to preserve *l'élan vital*. In the small interval between one picture and another something evaporates, something that is captured or can be captured by taking in the same presences on the stage. And yet here was a performance of Shakespeare that had the very quality of the movie, a suggestion of overwhelming mechanism, of excellent craft but not of art. By its craft, indeed, one could not help being pleased and astonished. The eye had an eleven-course banquet, with the enormous confection of the wordless coronation as a close. But save during the scenes of Queen Katherine there was no time when the emotions proper to the spoken theatre were flowing. There was no time when one had any illusion, or forgot Sir Herbert Tree.

Not that the effects themselves were exterior and vulgar. What abided was rather a consciousness of the externality and vulgarity of sacrificing a poet to producing these effects. Effects, up to a certain point, would have helped the poet. There is nothing against sending in hautboys before a king. A real stained-glass window is not a crime. One only dislikes the stained-glass window when it is a background to stained-glass—souls. Not even Miss Matthison and Mr. Lyn Harding, who acted Henry supremely well, could enable Shakespeare to survive.

It is a curiosity that so showy and empty a production should come from England. This, one had been told so often, was the country of plush-framed pictures and Jewish theatrical taste. We live and learn. When England is put to it, clearly, it can go us one better. It can release its large audiences from any of the ardor of contemplating a poetic tragedy. It can give them instead a feast of pantomime and ostentation, a thing at which to gape rather than a thing with which to grope. To grope is certainly not so easy. The embodiment of Wolsey and Henry the Eighth and Katherine and Anne Boleyn calls on us to be imaginative and sympathetic. But the practise of gaping can be overdone. And if one began at this production with yawning eyes, it was not only with the eyes that one was yawning before the end.

F. H.

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Books and Things

OUR voluble friend, to whom the storm that had kept us indoors all the afternoon had given a chance to explain many things, was obviously on the point of explaining how much President Wilson irritated him, and why. Such a prospect was more than I could bear. So I tried to head him off with a question. "May I ask," I said, "whether any of our recent Presidents has been lucky enough to avoid irritating you?" I have him now, I thought, not without superiority. He won't dare to admit that—but he did dare. "Every President who's held the office since I grew up, no matter whether he struck me as on the whole a great man, or a small man, or a man of middle size, has occasionally seemed to me the most irritating person who ever sat in the White House. All Presidents are irritating."

"Or perhaps I should say," he went on after a minute or so, "all except one. The exception was Mr. Harrison. In his day he was reputed cold and tactless, and I have always trusted men who notoriously want tact. The only time I saw him was the only time I have been in the White House, where two older men, a senator and an editor, took me along. Mr. Harrison made no effort to be cordial. He was not thinking of his callers. He made no effort to be impressive or wise. He was not thinking of himself. It wasn't easy to guess what he was thinking about. He knew he had now and then been criticized sharply by the editor, who was a very independent Republican. He knew the senator was a thick and thin supporter of the administration. Mr. Harrison's manner made no distinction between these two men. His speech was laconic and business-like. His behavior, his quiet acceptance of the fact that he hadn't a sunny nature, was very soothing. Besides, I admired his speeches. No President in my time, compelled to go talking all over the place, and to make each speech a little different from its fellows, has come so near mastering the art of saying nothing without pretense, and neatly.

"Mr. Cleveland? Until the summer of 1893, when the purchase clause of what we used to call the Sherman act was repealed at an extra session, I am ashamed to say I was blind to Mr. Cleveland's greatness. This was not altogether my fault. It was partly Mr. Godkin's. At that time I read the New York *Evening Post* every day. And often, almost as often as anybody accused Mr. Cleveland of anything, the *Post* would say he couldn't have done this thing, or have had this motive, without 'ceasing to be the man that he is.' This formula has now lost its power to give pain. But in those days, day after day, it was wonderfully exasperating. The rest of my blindness was my own fault. I couldn't see Mr. Cleveland. His style was in the way. He was a sturdy fighter, but his verbal weapons were long platitudes as soft and viscous as warmed sealing-wax. And his taste! Good Lord! I remember somebody in West Virginia, I think, who got married and sent the good news to the White House. Mr. Cleveland's reply—I'm not sure it was authentic—got into the papers. It ended with a reference to Mr. Cleveland's own case. He had found marriage, so he told his correspondent, 'one grand sweet song.' Such enormities had for me at that time an exaggerated importance. I have learned to forget them, or nearly all of them, as I hope to forget the more playful of Mr. Wilson's speeches.

"Mr. McKinley irritated me by his whole personality, as Mr. Taft does. Mr. McKinley's mind was opportunist, thin-lipped, one-idea'd, sterile. The first time I heard him speak, in the campaign of 1892, he wore a frock coat. That was all right. Everybody's done it. But the speech sounded as if he had written it in a frock coat. His mind never took off its frock coat. And his championship of the gold standard! No opportunist ever waved more reluctantly the flag which events which he couldn't control had stuffed into his trembling hands. Of Mr. Taft's irritating characteristics I should put his thick skin first. His self-complacency will always keep him from understanding what happens to him. No man whose skin wasn't thick, and who had done what Mr. Taft did in the Ballinger case, would be dull enough to recall that case by getting into the fight against Mr. Brandeis. Has Mr. Taft no shame? The chair hears none. Then there is his loyalty, so mechanical and undiscriminating. He was loyal to Mr. Ballinger, his Secretary of the Interior, and a few weeks later he was just as loyal, no more and no less, to Mr. Ballinger's successor, Walter Fisher. How could a man with a mind be loyal to both without effort?

"Mr. Roosevelt had so much color, the color of genius, that he made other recent Presidents, widely though they differ among themselves, look alike in their grayness and drabness. He was like a geyser among cisterns. He was a torch preceded and followed by night-lights. Such a richly energetic nature ought to have been generous. But he wasn't. Can any of you mention a single occasion in which Mr. Roosevelt proved himself a generous antagonist? His lack of generosity was as irritating as his moral righteousness. There was something revolting in that headlong impulsive fighter who could never see any part of any of his deeds, even years after he had done it, as anything but absolutely and unqualifiedly right. In private life he often behaves himself like a modest man. Never in public. His cocksureness is gross, monstrous, colossal, preposterous, absurd, ugly. Never an oasis of fallibility anywhere in all that Sahara of rightness. There is a bit of one of Cromwell's letters, which was written I think to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and which is evidently an anachronism. To no one but Mr. Roosevelt can Cromwell's words really have been addressed: 'Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God, all that *you* say? I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken.'

"Anachronism, by the way, reminds me of Mr. Wilson. Just as Cromwell must have had Mr. Roosevelt in mind when he wrote that letter, so must Richardson have written Sir Charles Grandison with Mr. Wilson in mind. The whole of Mr. Wilson is not like the whole of Sir Charles, but they have certain traits in common." Our voluble friend went to the shelves and found what he was after. "When Sir Hargrave Pollexfen is abducting Miss Harriet Byron," he went on, "and when the villain's chariot is intercepted by Sir Charles, Sir Hargrave draws his sword and lunges at this great and good man. Sir Charles overpowers him without drawing his sword. Later, when Sir Hargrave challenges Sir Charles, there is an interchange of notes. Sir Charles discourses at length upon his 'just abhorrence of the violence you were guilty of.' And he adds: 'I write a long letter, because I propose *only* to write.'" At this point the talker did not stop, but I did not stay to hear more.

P. L.

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A Mystery?

Patience Worth, by Casper S. Yost. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $1.40.

THERE is no virtue so magnanimous as faith. Faith removeth mountains. Without faith no man ever nerved himself to leap the chasms of coward mortality. Faith has, on the other hand, certain dire possibilities. Faith removeth common sense as well as mountains. Without faith, oodles of it, no man ever nerved himself to buy the Brooklyn Bridge for sixty-seven dollars. Faith and trust on the one hand, "confidence" men and credulity and superstition on the other—there is hardly any faith that may not turn out to be poor fatuity, hardly any fatuity that may not turn out to be beautiful faith.

It is not because one disowns faith that one is tentative about Patience Worth. It is not because intelligence alone can solve everything. As she implies herself, intelligence alone has not conquered the supreme mystery. "Man maketh temples that reach them unto the skies, and yet He fashioneth a gnat, and where be man's learning!" Where indeed? But while intelligence is limited, its application is not utterly despicable. The person who says that "He" fashioneth the gnat may be the wisest person of her generation. But were there not people who said that "He" sent the plague, when the plague was rather a phase of bad tenement conditions? A single theory exploded makes one long to see if other theories are explosion-proof. The humiliations of the sceptic are many, but so are the humiliations of the credulous.

One is glad, for the sake of human imagination, that the fear of ridicule did not prevent Mr. Casper S. Yost from publishing this record of Patience Worth. A timid sceptic would probably have refrained. But now that the record is tangible it is impossible not to surmise as to its value.

It was through that toy of general facetiousness, the ouija board, that Patience Worth made herself known. The persons through whom she came were two "ladies of culture and refinement" resident in St. Louis. One of them was Mrs. Emily Grant Hutchings, wife of the secretary of the Tower Grove Park Board in St. Louis. The other, the fellow-operator with Mrs. Hutchings but the sole agent of transmission from Patience Worth, was Mrs. John H. Curran, wife of a former foreign immigration commissioner of Missouri. At first, during the summer of 1913, Mrs. Curran and Mrs. Hutchings got nothing but ordinary amusement out of the ouija board. Then Patience Worth came to Mrs. Curran. "Many moons ago I lived. Again I come. Patience Worth my name." Mrs. Curran had "never attempted to write anything more ambitious than a personal letter." Mrs. Hutchings, however, "a professional writer of skill," quickly appreciated the quality of Patience Worth's first utterances. Mr. Curran came in to act as amanuensis. Thereafter, ever since 1913, Patience Worth has continued to communicate. Several volumes of typewritten pages have accumulated as record. "They include conversations, maxims, epigrams, allegories, tales, dramas, poems, all the way from sportive to religious, and even prayers." The performance naturally excited immense interest and curiosity in the two women concerned and in their circle. Gradually many doctors and professors were present, and Mr. Yost, editorial director of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat,* was one of the observers. On the basis of his own observations and on the typewritten record he has compiled this narrative.

The first thing of note about this narrative is the idiom in which Patience Worth speaks. One infers it is not any idiom with which Mrs. Curran has ever had acquaintance. It is the idiom of England two or three centuries ago. If nothing came from Patience Worth but formal narrative one might fairly suspect a cooked-up performance. But the astounding fact is that, "with marvelous facility," she indulges in the most idiomatic repartee. An early English philologist who has heard her has been surprised by the way she stayed "in character." And she made use of obsolete words quite correctly, some of them words that he himself had not known before and was compelled to look up. Conscious deception thus seems out of the question. The only possibility worth discussing is some unconscious facility in Mrs. Curran herself for giving out an immense store of extremely bookish sixteenth and seventeenth century reminiscence, poetry, drama, religion, conversation, wit and repartee.

What makes the problem significant is the quality of Patience Worth's utterance. That she is sensitive, witty, keenly metaphysical in her poetry and finely graphic in her drama, no one can deny. As one reads Mr. Yost's narrative one comes to delight in her. She is a thoroughly satisfactory and rounded personality. She is full of good sense and genuine religion and tenderness. Whoever or whatever she is, she meets the test that human beings meet. She is not the ordinary medium of psychical research, a maundering creature full of trivialities and gibberish. About Patience Worth, ouija board or no ouija board, there is a proper human inflexion. She is authentic and original. If she were invented, it would show resource of considerable genius in the person who went to such trouble to invent. Of course, if Patience Worth *were* invented, the whole phenomena would be infinitely less interesting. But the affair would still have an eminent detective interest, especially in regard to the lively conversations in which Patience has indulged.

Besides spicy conversations Mr. Yost has included bits of plays and stories, oracular sayings and many long and short poems, most of them metaphysical in character and some of them with much beauty. Their manner is an archaic manner, but their substance genuinely thoughtful if also quite truistic.

It cannot be denied that it would be quite possible to write out memorized poetry on the ouija board, or even to extemporize poetry. But the quality of Patience Worth's productions prevents their being dismissed as "easy." As a judge of this poetry Mr. Yost is not impeccable. He thinks it surpasses Shelley in spiritual essence, for "there is in him no profundity of thought." This is silly. But at least it indicates the effect of Patience Worth on one mind.

With such a record before us the question of Patience Worth is but opened. A psychoanalyst might now cooperate with Mrs. Curran to probe a mystery of great fascination. What is the close history of her upbringing and her family? Might she long have forgotten or covered up something that is here revived? William Marion Reedy says "there is absolutely no question of the integrity of any of the parties to the experience." One does not care to raise the invidious question of integrity. The real question is the question of an "inspiration." How comes it that a St. Louis woman of 1913 transmits the English of 1645? Mrs. Curran seems to have unwittingly tapped a gold-mine. Is it the gold of a mysterious ancestral memory or a personal mystery or the shimmer of some transference? Or is Patience patiently talking from be-

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yond? Mr. Yost does not pretend to say. He has done his part admirably. He has respected rich data. He has had sufficient humility to postulate a mystery. It is not from mean suspicion of the mystery that one regards it as still merely stated and hopes that scientific method may come to be employed.

F. H.

Hellenic Sources

Hellenic Civilization, edited by G. W. Botsford and E. G. Sihler. New York: The Columbia University Press. $3.75.

WHEN I went to college, not very many years ago, the course in botany consisted solely in reading and memorizing Kellerman's "Botany." There were, I think, several illustrations in that book, but their only use was to lessen the amount of text in the regular number of pages assigned for each lesson. The observation and handling of actual plants was not considered necessary for the educational or "disciplinary" value of botany. Precisely the same spirit of mental "discipline" actuated most of the history teaching of the old-fashioned colleges. History was essentially a training of the "faculty" of memory, even though William James had already shown how fallacious was the entire conception of a general "faculty" of memory that could be trained. Perhaps it was because our teachers found it so much easier to insist on our learning names and dates rather than to help us reconstruct the life of the past. The advent of the "source" book which attempted to give us something of the original flavor of past times and something of the creative joy of the historian's effort at imaginative reconstruction, was, therefore, a great liberating event. But now that source books and books of readings have multiplied in great numbers, it may be time to begin reflection on some of the necessary limitations of this method of approach—limitations not for the specialist who wants his documents in a convenient form but for "men and women interested in the cultural history of mankind."

The series of Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, of which the volume on Hellenic civilization is the first published, is under the general editorial charge of Professor J. T. Shotwell, a thorough scholar, who has taken a leading part in emancipating the study of history from many of its traditional restrictions. It may, therefore, be taken as representative of the best available effort in its field. But a comparison between the general publisher's announcement and the achievements of this volume shows that too much may be expected of the source-book method. The announcement or prospectus states that the series is "to cover the entire history of Western civilization" and is to give us not only all the important original documents but also "the recent criticism and accepted conclusions"—all this to be contained in seventeen volumes, "each complete in its own field." But the volume on Hellenic civilization, splendid in its achievement, shows the great difficulty of keeping any such promise. The fact that the series is confined to written sources rules out at once all the material of archaeology and geography that does not readily assume this form. If any one wants to form a picture of the conditions of Hellenic life, of its climate, soil, flora and fauna, physical features, means of travel and communication, the character of its cities, streets, houses, and furniture, industry, recreation, arrangement of meals, etc., he will not readily get much aid from this volume. Some of these external features might have been more adequately brought out by a more generous use of Pausanias. Other concrete manifestations of Greek life, such as military tactics—so important for the understanding of the rise and fall of Sparta, Thebes, the second Athenian and the Macedonian Empire—ritual procedure, or the mechanism of political intrigue, might perhaps have been brought out by appropriate comment on passages in the Greek writers, but extensive comment on fragmentary allusions and references would depart too much from the source-book idea.

The usual source book is like a collection of pictures to illustrate a lecture. The adequacy and propriety of the collection depend on the text to be illustrated. As this volume, however, claims to contribute to a systematic understanding of the spirit of ancient Hellas, the charge can fairly be made that by over-emphasizing the external political machinery, and neglecting the illustration of Greek intellectual effort and artistic expression, we here get something like the plates and cutlery of a dinner with the food left out. Nothing, for instance, is said of Greek education prior to 250 B. C., nothing about the intellectual awakening following the Persian War, the work of the Sophists, the significance of the Greek drama, sculpture or architecture. Prof. Botsford seeks to obviate this criticism by telling us that the culture of a people without their economy and politics is like the decoration of a dwelling without its foundation and frame-work. This view of culture as purely ornamental is, I humbly submit, historically most superficial. Culture is rather the life which the political structure contains. No one, certainly, would dispute that rational science,—still most perfectly embodied in geometry—the reliance on free reason as opposed to traditional authority, is one of the most important contributions that the Greeks have made to civilization. In all walks of life Greek rationalism has been a potent force against Oriental despotism and superstition and Teutonic barbarism. In law, for instance, it was the Greeks who first broke away from the needless complexities of primitive procedure and substituted general rational principles, adapting law to human ends instead of forcing life into archaic procedure. Roman law became the law of the world only after it had adapted Greek ideas and methods. Yet of all this, this source book contains nothing. A single page of Euclid paralleled by the cumbrous "inductive" efforts of the Egyptian or Chaldean mathematicians would have brought out something of the general significance in the history of civilization of the Greek discovery of scientific method. Something of the kind the editors have unintentionally produced in the chapter on medicine by the contrast between the religio-medical procedure in the temples, common to Greeks and other peoples, and the scientific rules of Hippocrates, a distinctively Greek product.

The political conception of history makes the editors conclude this survey of Greek civilization with the fall of Greek political independence. Yet it was just then that Greek culture began to permeate the West as well as the East. It is common now to regard Hellenistic thought as a continuous decline from Hellenism. Yet Plotinos and Neo-Platonism have exerted a profound influence on the formation and development of Christian dogma and speculative thought, and have also supplied a decisive factor in the formation of modern science in the minds of men like Da Vinci, Galileo, Kepler and others.

A great deal is claimed by the editors for the bibliographies which follow the various chapters. But in the fields of science, philosophy, art and religion, they certainly do not display any marked competency or familiarity with

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the subject. Thus the bibliography of Greek science begins with the worthless compilations of Marmery and Williams and does not mention Tannery's "Pour la Science Helléne" or the masterly studies of Milhaud and Duhem. It is almost unbelievable that a bibliography of Greek science by a competent historian should fail to mention the three books which have moulded western education, Euclid's Elements, Ptolemy's Astronomy and Aristotle's Logical Treatises. The bibliography on religion, also, embodies in striking form the general bibliographer's fallacy, the assumption that every book that has a word like religion in its title necessarily deals with that subject and that books that do not have the word in their title do not treat of that subject. Now by far the most important single book on Greek religion is still Rhode's Psyche, unmentioned by our editors, while Caird's Evolution of Theology, which they do mention, has almost nothing to do with Greek religion, being a Hegelian interpretation of Greek metaphysics.

One is tempted to object to the editors' reference to "Indo-European" peoples, as if that term denoted anything more than a highly speculative hypothesis now somewhat antiquated. There is no anthropologic evidence for a sharp differentiation between the Greeks and the Asiatic members of the Mediterranean race. But I do not want to be quarrelsome. I have simply tried to point out that the limitations of the traditional conception of history as "past politics" can persist in a source-book as well as in a text-book. I ought in fairness to add that these limitations do not prevent the book from being an extraordinarily useful one. In spite of an over-generous number of selections from such easily obtained sources as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plutarch, the amount of material that is here for the first time rendered available for the general reader is unexpectedly large. The book is well printed, and in spite of over 700 pages forms a handy, convenient volume. It is well worth keeping as the wealth of its contents is bound to grow on one.

Though the editors wisely warn us against modernizing the past, the essential humanity of Greek life and the relative insignificance of our own progress shine forth vividly and impressively.

PHILONOUS.

Public Verse

Anthology for Magazine Verse for 1915. Edited by William Stanley Braithewaite. New York: Gomme and Marshall. $1.50.

POETRY does not live at ease except in privacy. Oratory may be proper stuff for volumes in uniform; tables of fact may decorously jostle each other in the almanacs. But even the common nobility which makes the occupants of a "Golden Treasury" or an "Oxford Book" easy companions would not be reason enough for their herding if we could travel with our bookshelves. The fat, institutional anthologies are abominations.

The present collection therefore does not ingratiate itself as a book. It is rather a useful exhibition, like the annual automobile show, or the academy. It has an air of bustle, of short, jangling impressions, of self-display. We think of it in terms of quantity. Here are one hundred selections from the thousand verses published in a year, which were in turn selected from more thousands written. We survey them hurriedly for some common burden. What has the year to say, that it strives so to be articulate? Tired by the effort at inclusive perception, we look for particular values. But the candidates impinge on each other. We cannot be sure of any merit. And we are likely to turn away with a feeling that the best flower of the year has not been included, or if it has, that its petals are shut against the public touch.

Yet the mere existence of such a volume is interesting. Could anyone have supposed that a year would see written one hundred poems worthy of preservation? If so, what other year could have counted hundreds trying to write them? And if they were written, and by so many, where in other times would have been found the purchasers to induce their publication? Surely this is the golden age of poetry—if we measure by the bushel. The phenomenon is deeply characteristic of us; it is the product chiefly of a social motive. For generations we have been accused of lack of attention to the arts. Our poets, it was said, had been diverted to finance or engineering. Therefore we organized a boom. Magazines were founded for the publication of poetry, societies educated us in its appreciation, prize contests encouraged its production, new theories secured for it publicity. We inflated ourselves for æsthetic uplift. The freedom for experiment is good; the readiness to welcome is good. No one can doubt the deep earnestness of many of those who have helped to give us verse; and to say that no worthy poetry has recently come to birth would be absurd. But the whole movement resembles a little too much the "men and religion" campaign and the "city beautiful" propaganda of chambers of commerce. It would be socially profitable, we decide, to become a

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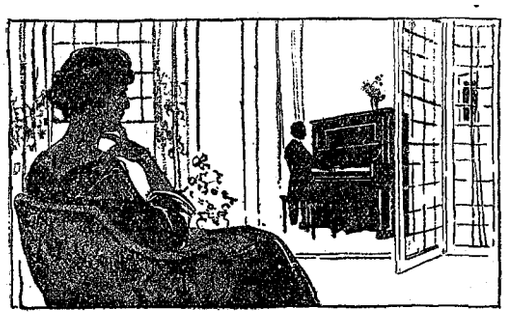

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There is something magnificent about this confidence—and a sure proof that we are indeed "idealistic." No cynical people would have undertaken such an enterprise. The real trouble is rather that we are too idealistic. We invoke ideals in their raw purity, and expect the world magically to conform to them. This would not be so dangerous if we were ready honestly to acknowledge the world's failure to do so. But our loyalty to the ideal leads us to manufacture a make-believe world, while the real world underneath rots and germinates, uncontrolled because not acknowledged, preparing to enfold us anew.

Proof that poetry does not respond to a social motive lies in the verse in this volume occasioned by the war. A rhetorical battery of sonnets begins:

> Awake ye nations, slumbering supine
> Who round enring the European Fray!

A fanciful prose description of a bombardment attempts realism by a liberal interspersion of "Boom! Boom! Boom!" Most of the rest is so childishly inadequate as to seem blasphemous. Not more than one or two poets have understood that only the modest expression of what they found in themselves could at least be free from offense in the presence of the gargantuan reality.

A similar mechanical impulse is impossible to escape in many of the other verses, whether they inhabit traditional forms or the latest rhythms of *vers libre*. Its effect is as devastating to sensitive appreciation as is the hard, efficient manner of a salesman, or the plaster glory of a world's fair, or the bombastic platitudes of Congressmen, or the institutional gaiety of made-to-order pageants. Exteriors created to impress—these kill charm; and they are prevalent in America. Their worst sin is not their own falsity; it is their intrusion into the company of the living.

For America is producing a little verse worth reading, and some of it is hidden in this Anthology. Other readers may well make further discoveries; most that I found had been praised elsewhere. Delicate and fantastic is "Peter Quince at the Clavier," by Mr. Wallace Stevens; it has at least momentary charm. Some of Miss Sara Teasdale's lyrics are true, without the over-subtle elaboration of sentiment which often keeps lyrics from anything but curious design. Mr. Edgar Lee Masters has succeeded in being honest by the recognition of beauty in the blunt, chopped sentences of Middle-Western America, sometimes transfigured by a rhythm of their own. Mr. Vachel Lindsay, who finds rhythmical abundance and the stuff of fancy in automobiles, fire-engines, negro camp-meetings and Chinese laundries, is always stimulating, especially if the reader can reproduce Mr. Lindsay's method of chanting his own verse. But perhaps the most successful of all is Mr. Robert Frost, whose love for the cadence of native New England speech and the gentle character which often rests beneath the shy and homespun New England exterior has led him to write poems of genuine magic.

The desire to accomplish an end socially worthy will never cause a poem, nor will it aesthetically reform a nation. Our hope is not in a multitudinous competition for merit and a full measure of publicity, but in many private worshippers of beauty, sensitive to its furthest manifestation. Of these, some few may live in such humility before it, and so fully sublimate and transmit their experience, as to give the modern world the literature it needs.

GEORGE SOULE.

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